

# SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY



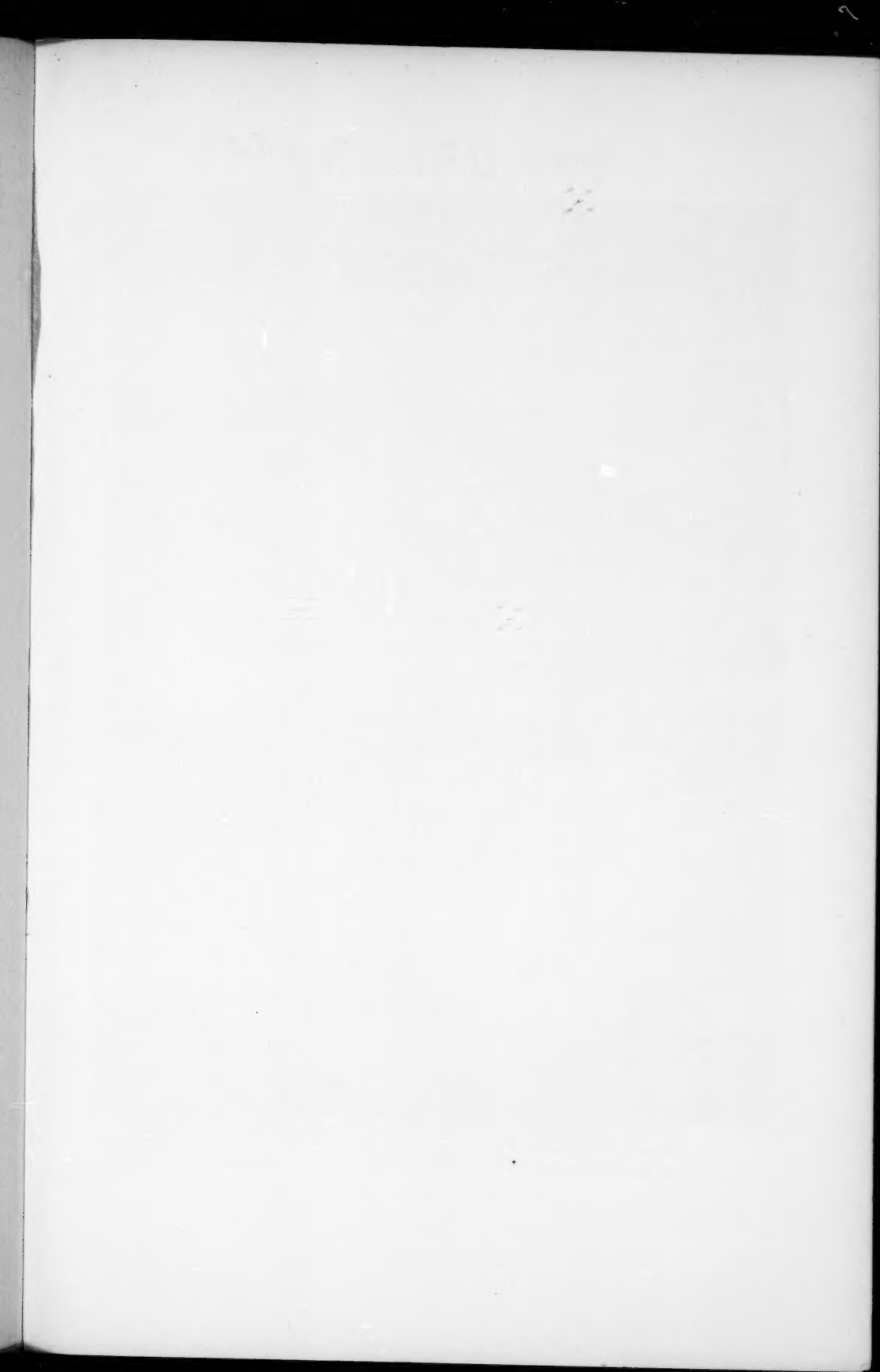
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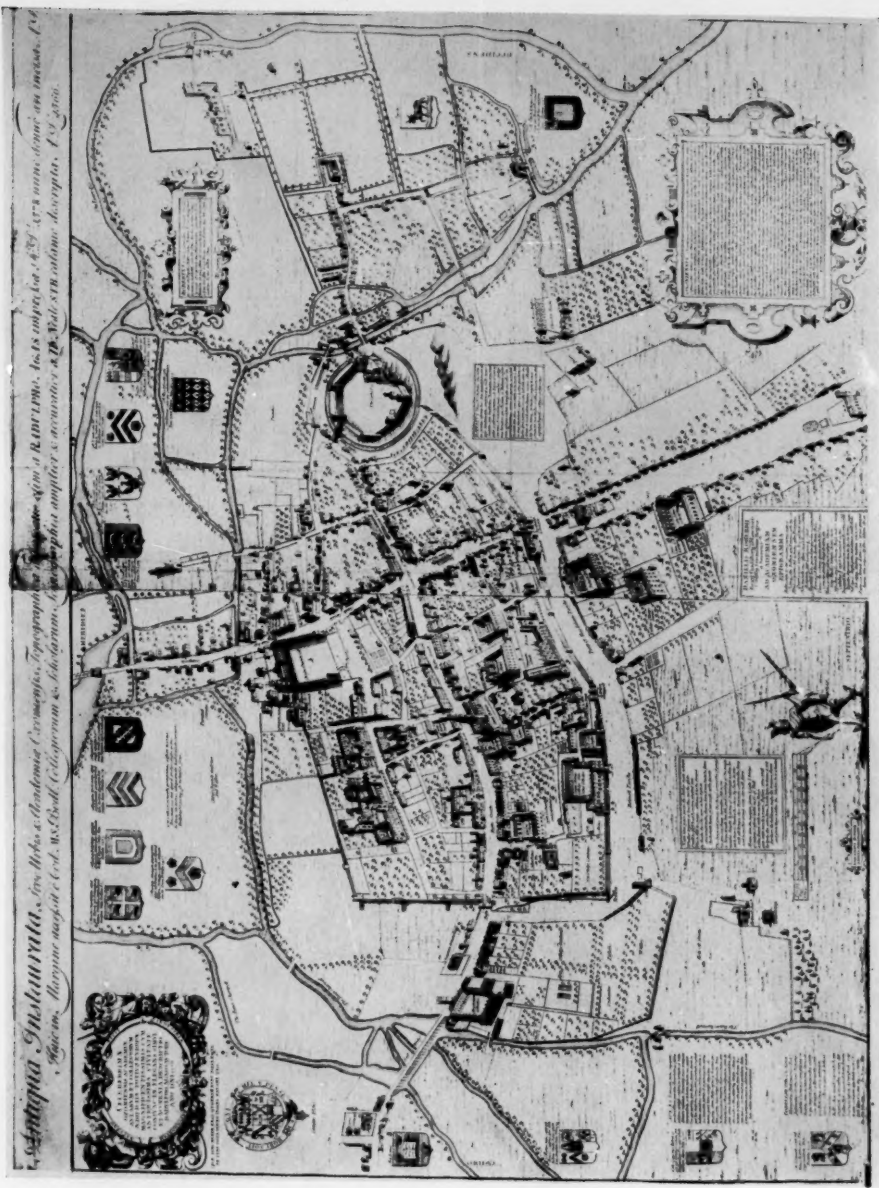
VOLUME XI

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Bird's-eye view of Oxford, 1588. By Augustine Ryther, after Ralph Aggas' drawings of 1578. Reproduced from the Folger Shakespeare Library copy. See p. 116.



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# Form and Formality in *Romeo and Juliet*

HARRY LEVIN



Fain would I dwell on form—", says Juliet from her window to Romeo in the moonlit orchard below,

Fain would I dwell on form—fain, fain deny  
What I have spoke; but farewell compliment! (II. ii. 88-89)<sup>1</sup>

Romeo has just violated convention, dramatic and otherwise, by overhearing what Juliet intended to be a soliloquy. Her cousin, Tybalt, had already committed a similar breach of social and theatrical decorum in the scene at the Capulets' feast, where he had also recognized Romeo's voice to be that of a Montague. There, when the lovers first met, the dialogue of their meeting had been formalized into a sonnet, acting out the conceit of his lips as pilgrims, her hand as a shrine, and his kiss as a culminating piece of stage-business, with an encore after an additional quatrain: "You kiss by th' book" (I. v. 112). Neither had known the identity of the other; and each, upon finding it out, responded with an ominous exclamation coupling love and death (120, 140). The formality of their encounter was framed by the ceremonious character of the scene, with its dancers, its masquers, and—except for Tybalt's stifled outburst—its air of old-fashioned hospitality. "We'll measure them a measure", Benvolio had proposed; but Romeo, unwilling to join the dance, had resolved to be an onlooker and carry a torch (I. iv. 10). That torch may have burned symbolically, but not for Juliet; indeed, as we are inclined to forget with Romeo, he attended the feast in order to see the dazzling but soon eclipsed Rosaline. Rosaline's prior effect upon him is all that we ever learn about her; yet it has been enough to make Romeo, when he was presented to us, a virtual stereotype of the romantic lover. As such, he has protested a good deal too much in his preliminary speeches, utilizing the conventional phrases and standardized images of Elizabethan eroticism, bandying generalizations, paradoxes, and sestets with Benvolio, and taking a quasi-religious vow which his introduction to Juliet would ironically break (I. ii. 92-97). Afterward this role has been reduced to absurdity by the humorous man, Mercutio, in a mock-conjuration evoking Venus and Cupid and the inevitable jingle of "love" and "dove" (II. i. 10). The scene that follows is actually a continuation, marked in neither the Folios nor the Quartos, and linked with what has gone before by a somewhat eroded rhyme.

"Tis in vain  
To seek him here that means not to be found,

<sup>1</sup> Line-references are to the separate edition of G. L. Kittredge's text (Boston, 1940).

Benvolio concludes in the absence of Romeo (41, 42). Whereupon the latter, on the other side of the wall, chimes in:

He jests at scars that never felt a wound. (II. ii. 1)

Thus we stay behind, with Romeo, when the masquers depart. Juliet, appearing at the window, does not hear his descriptive invocation. Her first utterance is the very sigh that Mercutio burlesqued in the foregoing scene: "Ay, me!" (II. ii. 25). Then, believing herself to be alone and masked by the darkness, she speaks her mind in sincerity and simplicity. She calls into question not merely Romeo's name but—by implication—all names, forms, conventions, sophistications, and arbitrary dictates of society, as opposed to the appeal of instinct directly conveyed in the odor of a rose. When Romeo takes her at her word and answers, she is startled and even alarmed for his sake; but she does not revert to courtly language.

I would not for the world they saw thee here,

she tells him, and her monosyllabic directness inspires the matching cadence of his response:

And but thou love me, let them find me here. (77, 79)

She pays incidental tribute to the proprieties with her passing suggestion that, had he not overheard her, she would have dwelt on form, pretended to be more distant, and played the not impossible part of the captious beloved. But farewell compliment! Romeo's love for Juliet will have an immediacy which cuts straight through the verbal embellishment that has obscured his infatuation with Rosaline. That shadowy creature, having served her Dulcinea-like purpose, may well be forgotten. On the other hand, Romeo has his more tangible foil in the person of the County Paris, who is cast in that ungrateful part which the Italians call *terzo incòmodo*, the inconvenient third party, the unwelcome member of an amorous triangle. As the official suitor of Juliet, his speeches are always formal, and often sound stilted or priggish by contrast with Romeo's. Long after Romeo has abandoned his sonnetting, Paris will pronounce a sestet at Juliet's tomb (V. iii. 11-16). During their only colloquy, which occurs in Friar Laurence's cell, Juliet takes on the sophisticated tone of Paris, denying his claims and disclaiming his compliments in brisk stichomythy. As soon as he leaves, she turns to the Friar, and again—as so often in intimate moments—her lines fall into monosyllables:

O, shut the door! and when thou hast done so,  
Come weep with me—past hope, past cure, past help! (IV. i. 44-45)

Since the suit of Paris is the main subject of her conversations with her parents, she can hardly be sincere with them. Even before she met Romeo, her consent was hedged in prim phraseology:

I'll look to like, if looking liking move. (I. iii. 97)

And after her involvement she becomes adept in the stratagems of mental reservation, giving her mother equivocal rejoinders and rousing her father's

anger by chopping logic (III.v.69-205). Despite the intervention of the Nurse on her behalf, her one straightforward plea is disregarded. Significantly Lady Capulet, broaching the theme of Paris in stiffly appropriate couplets, has compared his face to a volume:<sup>2</sup>

This precious book of love, this unbound lover,  
To beautify him only lacks a cover.  
The fish lives in the sea, and 'tis much pride  
The fair without the fair within to hide. (I.iii.89-90)

That bookish comparison, by emphasizing the letter at the expense of the spirit, helps to lend Paris an aspect of unreality; to the Nurse, more ingeniously, he is "a man of wax" (76). Later Juliet will echo Lady Capulet's metaphor, transferring it from Paris to Romeo:

Was ever book containing such vile matter  
So fairly bound? (III.ii.83-84)

Here, on having learned that Romeo has just slain Tybalt, she is undergoing a crisis of doubt, a typically Shakespearian recognition of the difference between appearance and reality. The fair without may not cover a fair within, after all. Her unjustified accusations, leading up to her rhetorical question, form a sequence of oxymoronic epithets: "Beautiful tyrant, fiend angelical, . . . honorable villain!" (75-79) W. H. Auden, in a recent comment on these lines,<sup>3</sup> cannot believe they would come from a heroine who had been exclaiming shortly before: "Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds. . . !" Yet Shakespeare has been perfectly consistent in suiting changes of style to changes of mood. When Juliet feels at one with Romeo, her intonations are genuine; when she feels at odds with him, they should be unconvincing. The attraction of love is played off against the revulsion from books, and coupled with the closely related themes of youth and haste, in one of Romeo's long-drawn-out leavetakings:

Love goes toward love as schoolboys from their books;  
But love from love, towards school with heavy looks. (II.ii.157-158)<sup>3</sup>

The school for these young lovers will be tragic experience. When Romeo, assuming that Juliet is dead and contemplating his own death, recognizes the corpse of Paris, he will extend the image to cover them both:

O give me thy hand,  
One writ with me in sour misfortune's book! (V.iii.82)

It was this recoil from bookishness, together with the farewell to compliment, that animated *Love's Labour's Lost*, where literary artifice was so ingeniously deployed against itself, and Berowne was taught—by an actual heroine named Rosaline—that the best books were women's eyes. Some of Shakespeare's other early comedies came even closer to adumbrating certain features of *Romeo and Juliet*: notably, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, with its locale, its window scene, its friar and rope, its betrothal and banishment, its emphasis upon the vagaries of love. Shakespeare's sonnets and erotic poems had won for him

<sup>2</sup> On the long and rich history of this trope, see the sixteenth chapter of E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. W. R. Trask (New York, 1953).

<sup>3</sup> In the paper-bound Laurel Shakespeare, ed. Francis Fergusson (New York, 1958), p. 26.

the reputation of an English Ovid. *Romeo and Juliet*, the most elaborate product of his so-called lyrical period, was his first successful experiment in tragedy.<sup>4</sup> Because of that very success, it is hard for us to realize the full extent of its novelty, though scholarship has lately been reminding us of how it must have struck contemporaries.<sup>5</sup> They would have been surprised, and possibly shocked, at seeing lovers taken so seriously. Legend, it had been heretofore taken for granted, was the proper matter for serious drama; romance was the stuff of the comic stage. Romantic tragedy—"an excellent conceited Tragedie of *Romeo and Juliet*", to cite the title-page of the First Quarto—was one of those contradictions in terms which Shakespeare seems to have delighted in resolving. His innovation might be described as transcending the usages of romantic comedy, which are therefore very much in evidence, particularly at the beginning. Subsequently, the leading characters acquire together a deeper dimension of feeling by expressly repudiating the artificial language they have talked and the superficial code they have lived by. Their formula might be that of the anti-Petrarchan sonnet:

Foole said My muse to mee, looke in thy heart and write.<sup>6</sup>

An index of this development is the incidence of rhyme, heavily concentrated in the First Act, and its gradual replacement by a blank verse which is realistic or didactic with other speakers and unprecedentedly limpid and passionate with the lovers. "Love has no need of euphony", the eminent Russian translator of the play, Boris Pasternak, has commented. "Truth, not sound, dwells in its heart."<sup>7</sup>

Comedy set the pattern of courtship, as formally embodied in a dance. The other *genre* of Shakespeare's earlier stagecraft, history, set the pattern of conflict, as formally embodied in a duel. *Romeo and Juliet* might also be characterized as an anti-revenge play, in which hostile emotions are finally pacified by the interplay of kindlier ones. Romeo sums it up in his prophetic oxymorons:

Here's much to do with hate, but more with love.  
Why then, O brawling love! O loving hate!  
O anything, of nothing first create! (I. i. 162-164)

And Paris, true to type, waxes grandiose in lamenting Juliet:

O love! O life! not life, but love in death! (IV. v. 58)

Here, if we catch the echo from Hieronimo's lament in *The Spanish Tragedy*,

O life! no life, but lively form of death,

we may well note that the use of antithesis, which is purely decorative with Kyd, is functional with Shakespeare. The contraries of his plot are reinforced on the plane of imagery by omnipresent reminders of light and darkness,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> H. B. Charlton, in his British Academy lecture for 1939, "*Romeo and Juliet*" as an *Experimental Tragedy*, has considered the experiment in the light of Renaissance critical theory.

<sup>5</sup> Especially F. M. Dickey, *Not Wisely But Too Well: Shakespeare's Love Tragedies* (San Marino, 1957), pp. 63-88.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1922), p. 243.

<sup>7</sup> Boris Pasternak, "Translating Shakespeare", tr. Manya Harari, *The Twentieth Century*, CLXIV, 979 (September, 1958), p. 217.

<sup>8</sup> Caroline Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us* (New York, 1936), pp. 310-316.



youth and age, and many other antitheses subsumed by the all-embracing one of Eros and Thanatos, the *leitmotif* of the *Liebestod*, the myth of the tryst in the tomb. This attraction of ultimate opposites—which is succinctly implicit in the Elizabethan ambiguity of the verb *to die*—is generalized when the Friar rhymes “womb” with “tomb”, and particularized when Romeo hails the latter place as “thou womb of death” (I.iii.9, 10; V.iii.45). Hence the “extremities” of the situation, as the Prologue to the Second Act announces, are tempered “with extreme sweet” (14). Those extremes begin to meet as soon as the initial prologue, in a sonnet disarmingly smooth, has set forth the feud between the two households, “Where civil blood makes civil hands unclean” (4). Elegant verse yields to vulgar prose, and to an immediate riot, as the servants precipitate a renewal—for the third time—of their masters’ quarrel. The brawl of Act I is renewed again in the *contretemps* of Act III and completed by the swordplay of Act V. Between the street-scenes, with their clashing welter of citizens and officers, we shuttle through a series of interiors, in a flurry of domestic arrangements and family relationships. The house of the Capulets is the logical center of action, and Juliet’s chamber its central sanctum. Consequently, the sphere of privacy encloses Acts II and IV, in contradistinction to the public issues raised by the alternating episodes. The temporal alternation of the play, in its accelerating continuity, is aptly recapitulated by the impatient rhythm of Capulet’s speech:

Day, night, late, early,  
At home, abroad, alone, in company,  
Waking or sleeping . . . (III. v. 177-179)

The alignment of the *dramatis personae* is as symmetrical as the antagonism they personify. It is not without relevance that the names of the feuding families, like the Christian names of the hero and heroine, are metrically interchangeable (though “Juliet” is more frequently a trochee than an amphimacer). Tybalt the Capulet is pitted against Benvolio the Montague in the first street-fight, which brings out—with parallel stage-directions—the heads of both houses restrained by respective wives. Both the hero and heroine are paired with others, Rosaline and Paris, and admonished by elderly confidants, the Friar and the Nurse. Escalus, as Prince of Verona, occupies a superior and neutral position; yet, in the interchange of blood for blood, he loses “a brace of kinsman”, Paris and Mercutio (V.iii.295). Three times he must quell and sentence the rioters before he can pronounce the final sestet, restoring order to the city-state through the lovers’ sacrifice. He effects the resolution by summoning the patriarchal enemies, from their opposite sides, to be reconciled. “Capulet, Montague,” he sternly arraigns them, and the polysyllables are brought home by monosyllabics:

See what a scourge is laid upon your hate  
That heaven finds means to kill your joys with love. (291-293)

The two-sided counterpoise of the dramatic structure is well matched by the dynamic symmetry of the antithetical style. One of its peculiarities, which surprisingly seems to have escaped the attention of commentators, is a habit of stressing a word by repeating it within a line, a figure which may be classified in rhetoric as a kind of *ploce*. I have cited a few examples incidentally; let me

now underline the device by pointing out a few more. Thus Montague and Capulet are accused of forcing their parties

To wield old partisans in hands as old,  
Cank' red with peace, to part your cank' red hate. (I. i. 100, 102)

This double instance, along with the wordplay on "cank' red," suggests the embattled atmosphere of partisanship through the halberds; and it is further emphasized in Benvolio's account of the fray:

Came more and more, and fought on part and part. (122)

The key-words are not only doubled but affectionately intertwined, when Romeo confides to the Friar:

As mine on hers, so hers is set on mine. (II. iii. 59)

Again, he conveys the idea of reciprocity by declaring that Juliet returns "grace for grace and love for love" (86). The Friar's warning hints at poetic justice:

These violent delights have violent ends. (II. vi. 9)

Similarly Mercutio, challenged by Tybalt, turns "point to point", and the Nurse finds Juliet—in *antimetabole*—"Blubb'ring and weeping, weeping and blubbering" (III. ii. 165; iii. 87). Statistics would prove illusory, because some repetitions are simply idiomatic, grammatical, or—in the case of old Capulet or the Nurse—colloquial. But it is significant that the play contains well over a hundred such lines, the largest number being in the First Act and scarcely any left over for the Fifth.

The significance of this tendency toward reduplication, both stylistic and structural, can perhaps be best understood in the light of Bergson's well-known theory of the comic: the imposition of geometrical form upon the living data of formless consciousness. The stylization of love, the constant pairing and counterbalancing, the *quid pro quo* of Capulet and Montague, seem mechanical and unnatural. Nature has other proponents besides the lovers, especially Mercutio their fellow victim, who bequeathes his curse to both their houses. His is likewise an ironic end, since he has been as much a satirist of "the new form" and Tybalt's punctilio in duelling "by the book of arithmetic" as of "the numbers that Petrarch flowed in" and Romeo's affectations of gallantry (II. iv. 34, 38; III. i. 104). Mercutio's interpretation of dreams, running counter to Romeo's premonitions, is naturalistic, not to say Freudian; Queen Mab operates through fantasies of wish-fulfilment, bringing love to lovers, fees to lawyers, and tithe-pigs to parsons; the moral is that desires can be mischievous. In his repartee with Romeo, Mercutio looks forward to their fencing with Tybalt; furthermore he charges the air with bawdy suggestions that—in spite of the limitations of Shakespeare's theatre, its lack of actresses and absence of close-ups—love may have something to do with sex, if not with lust, with the physical complementarity of male and female.<sup>9</sup> He is abetted, in that respect, by the malapropistic garrulity of the Nurse, Angelica, who is naturally bound to Juliet through hav-

<sup>9</sup> Coleridge's persistent defense of Shakespeare against the charge of gross language does more credit to that critic's high-mindedness than to his discernment. The concentrated ribaldry of the gallants in the street (II. iv) is deliberately contrasted with the previous exchange between the lovers in the orchard.



ing been her wet-nurse, and who has lost the infant daughter that might have been Juliet's age. None the less, her crotchety hesitations are contrasted with Juliet's youthful ardors when the Nurse acts as go-between for Romeo. His counsellor, Friar Laurence, makes a measured entrance with his sententious couplets on the uses and abuses of natural properties, the medicinal and poisonous effects of plants:

For this, being smelt, with that part cheers each part;  
Being tasted, slays all senses with the heart. (II. iii. 25, 26)

His watchword is "Wisely and slow", yet he contributes to the grief at the sepulcher by ignoring his own advice, "They stumble that run fast" (94).<sup>10</sup> When Romeo upbraids him monosyllabically,

Thou canst not speak of that thou doest not feel,

it is the age-old dilemma that separates the generations: *Si jeunesse savait, si vieillesse pouvait* (III. iii. 64). Banished to Mantua, Romeo has illicit recourse to the Apothecary, whose shop—envisaged with Flemish precision—unhappily replaces the Friar's cell, and whose poison is the sinister counterpart of Laurence's potion.

Against this insistence upon polarity, at every level, the mutuality of the lovers stands out, the one organic relation amid an overplus of stylized expressions and attitudes. The naturalness of their diction is artfully gained, as we have noticed, through a running critique of artificiality. In drawing a curtain over the consummation of their love, Shakespeare heralds it with a prothalamium and follows it with an epithalamium. Juliet's "Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds", reversing the Ovidian "*lente currite, noctis equi*", is spoken "alone" but in breathless anticipation of a companion (III. ii. 1). After having besought the day to end, the sequel to her solo is the duet in which she begs the night to continue. In the ensuing *débat* of the nightingale and the lark, a refinement upon the antiphonal song of the owl and the cuckoo in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Romeo more realistically discerns "the herald of the morn" (III. v. 6). When Juliet reluctantly agrees, "More light and light it grows", he completes the paradox with a doubly reduplicating line:

More light and light—more dark and dark our woes! (35, 36)

The precariousness of their union, formulated arithmetically by the Friar as "two in one" (II. vi. 37), is brought out by the terrible loneliness of Juliet's monologue upon taking the potion:

My dismal scene I needs must act alone. (IV. iii. 19)

Her utter singleness, as an only child, is stressed by her father and mourned by her mother:

But one, poor one, one poor and loving child. (v. 46)

Tragedy tends to isolate where comedy brings together, to reveal the uniqueness of individuals rather than what they have in common with others. Asking

<sup>10</sup> This is the leading theme of the play, in the interpretation of Brechts Stirling, *Unity in Shakespearean Tragedy: The Interplay of Themes and Characters* (New York, 1956), pp. 10-25.

for Romeo's profession of love, Juliet anticipates: "I know thou wilt say 'Ay'" (II. ii. 90). That monosyllable of glad assent was the first she ever spoke, as we know from the Nurse's childish anecdote (I. iii. 48). Later, asking the Nurse whether Romeo has been killed, Juliet pauses self-consciously over the pun between "Ay" and "I" or "eye":

Say thou but 'I,'  
And that bare vowel 'I' shall poison more  
Than the death-darting eye of cockatrice.  
I am not I, if there be such an 'I';  
Or those eyes shut that make thee answer 'I.'  
If he be slain, say 'I'; or if not, 'no.'  
Brief sounds determine of my weal or woe. (III. ii. 45-51)

Her identification with him is negated by death, conceived as a shut or poisoning eye, which throws the pair back upon their single selves. Each of them dies alone—or, at all events, in the belief that the other lies dead, and without the benefit of a recognition-scene. Juliet, of course, is still alive; but she has already voiced her death-speech in the potion scene. With the dagger, her last words, though richly symbolic, are brief and monosyllabic:

This is thy sheath; there rest, and let me die. (V. iii. 170)

The sense of vicissitude is re-enacted through various gestures of staging; Romeo and Juliet experience their exaltation "aloft" on the upper stage; his descent via the rope is, as she fears, toward the tomb (III. v. 56).<sup>11</sup> The antonymous adverbs *up* and *down* figure, with increasing prominence, among the brief sounds that determine Juliet's woe (e.g., V. ii. 209-210). The overriding pattern through which she and Romeo have been trying to break—call it Fortune, the stars, or what you will—ends by closing in and breaking them; their private world disappears, and we are left in the social ambience again. Capulet's house has been bustling with preparations for a wedding, the happy ending of comedy. The news of Juliet's death is not yet tragic because it is premature; but it introduces a peripety which will become the starting point for *Hamlet*.

All things that we ordained festival  
Turn from their office to black funeral—

the old man cries, and his litany of contraries is not less poignant because he has been so fond of playing the genial host:

Our instruments to melancholy bells,  
Our wedding cheer to a sad burial feast;  
Our solemn hymns to sullen dirges change;  
Our bridal flowers serve for a buried corse;  
And all things change them to the contrary. (IV. v. 84-90)

His lamentation, in which he is joined by his wife, the Nurse, and Paris, reasserts the formalities by means of what is virtually an operatic quartet. Thereupon the music becomes explicit, when they leave the stage to the Musicians,

<sup>11</sup> One of the more recent and pertinent discussions of staging is that of Richard Hosley, "The Use of the Upper Stage in *Romeo and Juliet*", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, V, 4 (Autumn, 1954), 371-379.

who have walked on with the County Paris. Normally these three might play during the *entr'acte*, but Shakespeare has woven them into the dialogue terminating the Fourth Act.<sup>12</sup> Though their art has the power of soothing the passions and thereby redressing grief, as the comic servant Peter reminds them with a quotation from Richard Edward's lyric *In Commendacion of Musick*, he persists in his query: "Why 'silver sound'?" (131) Their answers are those of mere hirelings, who can indifferently change their tune from a merry dump to a doleful one, so long as they are paid with coin of the realm. Yet Peter's riddle touches a deeper chord of correspondence, the interconnection between discord and harmony, between impulse and discipline. "Consort", which can denote a concert or a companionship, can become the fighting word that motivates the unharmonious pricksong of the duellists (III. i. 48). The "sweet division" of the lark sounds harsh and out of tune to Juliet, since it proclaims that the lovers must be divided (v. 29). Why "silver sound"? Because Romeo, in the orchard, has sworn by the moon

That tips with silver all these fruit-tree tops. (II. i. 108)

Because Shakespeare, transposing sights and sounds into words, has made us imagine

How silver-sweet sound lovers' tongues by night,  
Like softest music to attending ears! (167-168)

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<sup>12</sup> Professor F. T. Bowers reminds me that inter-act music was probably not a regular feature of public performance when *Romeo and Juliet* was first performed. Some early evidence for it has been gathered by T. S. Graves in "The Act-Time in Elizabethan Theatres", *Studies in Philology*, XII, 3 (July, 1915), 120-124—notably contemporary sound cues, written into a copy of the Second Quarto and cited by Malone. But if—as seems likely—such practices were exceptional, then Shakespeare was innovating all the farther.



## A Little More than a Little

R. J. DORIUS

**B**Y showing us the power and frailty of seven kings, Shakespeare's nine English history plays (excluding *Henry VIII*) imply a standard of good kingship which no one of his kings, except possibly Henry V, fully attains. Both this standard and Henry's relationship to it have puzzled many commentators, and with good reason, since the great tragedies imply somewhat different standards, with far more emphasis upon heroic action. The tragic hero's willingness to take terrible risks, to throw away power and life itself for a cause, is not demanded of the kings of the histories. By and large, except for Richard III, they are more conservative; their mission is less to question and dare than to reconcile and maintain. They are absorbed less with the state of man than with practical politics; their problem is not why but how. It follows that they cannot risk the "tragic waste" precipitated by the inflexible high-minded resolve of the heroes. Indeed, the overweening ambition of a partly tragic character like Hotspur is seen in the context of the histories as slightly comic.

What seems to set off the values of these plays most markedly from those of the tragedies is the importance given by the histories to the virtues of prudence and economy. For in the chronicle plays these are the essential qualities, together with strength of character—kingliness—for a ruler's governance both of himself and his realm. To what degree the importance of these qualities in Shakespeare, up to the turn of the century, is related to the poet's response to crises of his own day, or to the spectacle of an older England wasted for a hundred years through the incompetence or violence of a succession of weaklings, usurpers, and tyrants, it is difficult to say. But it is clear that the fullest exploration of the significance of prudence and economy in state affairs, and thus also of their opposites—carelessness, excess, waste, and disease, is to be found in the sequence running from *Richard II* through *Henry V*. It is with the development of these themes of good husbandry and extravagance through the metaphoric language of this tetralogy, and especially of *Richard II*, that this paper will be chiefly concerned. The thematic imagery of these plays possesses a logic and coherence striking enough to justify numerous comparisons between images of different dramas and the assumption that the group forms, in essential features, if not perhaps in initial conception or over-all effect, a unified design.

From Richard's "I wasted time, and now doth time waste me" at the beginning of the series to Henry V's weighing time "Even to the utmost grain" at the end, a concept of good husbandry presides like a goddess over the turbulent experiences of these plays. The assumption behind this emphasis upon

watchful economy seems to be that life and power are precious gifts and that to squander them or to misdirect them is a crime against God and the state. And to be careless is to hand one's life and throne over to the initiative of others, who may turn both to their own ends. A negligent and heedless prince, like Richard II, creates a vacuum of power which must be filled, and invites disaster. Throughout, waste or destruction is associated in these plays with an apparently antithetical theme—fatness or excessive growth. Both are the extremes of which economy is the mean, or the ends to which extravagance in man or government might lead. We frequently find in these plays a kind of logical or psychological relationship between the stages of a process from health to disease, marked by metaphors depicting carelessness, eating or sleeping, deafness or blindness, rioting, fatness or excess, sickness, waste, barrenness, and death. The general movement of *Richard II* and of the cycle through 2 *Henry IV* is from youthful or springtime luxuriance to aged or wintry barrenness. Of course these polarities are developed more fully in the later Shakespeare. But the well-known association in the great tragedies between images of excess or disease and faults ranging from mere folly to crime is already fully developed in these histories. The significance of Hamlet's dark reference to the world as "an unweeded garden That grows to seed" and to man as a beast whose chief good is "but to sleep and feed" is greatly heightened if seen through the preoccupation with things gross in nature and men in the English histories.

The collaboration of plot, character, and thematic imagery to create a unity of tone and meaning is so intimate in these plays that a word or metaphor can be said to be deepened into character or extended into plot. Thus in *Henry IV* the pervasive imagery of extremes is in a sense embodied both in a lean king of state literally worn away with anxiety and in a fat king of revels surrounded by slivers of himself, "Pharaoh's lean kine". Shape is at least partly an index to character. Everywhere the ideal king, the "figure of God's majesty", is contrasted with the "ugly form Of base and bloody insurrection. . .".<sup>1</sup> Frequently fast follows feast, early death follows premature growth, in emphatic contrast. In the theatre, the sickness of the divided commonwealth is visibly present in the range of physical proportions of the characters on the stage. In Part II (III.i), the spectacle of the harassed lonely king watching through the night is preceded by the convivial brawling involving fat Saturn and Tearsheet-Venus "in conjunction" and followed by the pricking of the ragamuffins, as Falstaff misuses the king's press. It is almost as though these wastrels, like the crown itself, were, as the Prince says, feeding "upon the body of my father" (IV.v. 160).

The most important antitheses in the histories are often sharpened by what appear to be minor tricks of language. The merry word-games in which the Prince and Falstaff engage, the matchings of "unsavory similes" of fatness and thinness, represent a comic playing with political and moral themes at the core of these plays. One of Falstaff's favorite puns points up the connection between waste and fatness. "Your means are very slender, and your waste is great", says the Chief Justice, posed against Falstaff at the beginning of Part II, and Falstaff replies, "I would my means were greater and my waist slenderer"

<sup>1</sup> References to Part 2 of *Henry IV* are indicated thus: II:IV.i.39-40. All readings are from the *Complete Works*, edited by G. L. Kittredge, Boston, 1936.



(I.ii.160-163). Tagged as Sir John Paunch by Hal, Falstaff rejoins, "Indeed, I am not John of Gaunt, your grandfather..." (I:II.ii.70-71). What begins in a word or name can come to suggest a way of life. One of the polar oppositions to the careless John who sleeps upon benches afternoons and has the "disease of not list'ning" (II:I.ii.138) is this care-worn John who puns on his own name before Richard II:

For sleeping England long time have I watch'd;  
Watching breeds leanness, leanness is all gaunt. (II.i.77-78)

We usually find in the histories that the responsible man and state are thin, the heedless usually fat. Honor-seeking Hotspur, "Amongst a grove the very straightest plant", can be contrasted not only with Falstaff, "out of all order, out of all compass", who reduces honor to a word, but with Richard II, who stoops "with oppression" of the "prodigal weight" of his nobles. Indeed, imagery of over-eating is applied both to the rightful ruler and the usurper, as the sickness of the head of the state develops. From Gaunt's remark about the "eager feeding" which "doth choke the feeder", young Richard (II.i.37), to Worcester's criticism in *Henry IV* of the lean king who once set out to purge the state of its excesses, is in many ways a single movement. Henry IV, made "portly" by the help of the Percies,

did oppress our nest;  
Grew by our feeding to so great a bulk  
That even our love durst not come near your sight  
For fear of swallowing.... (I:V.i.61-64)

The eaters are eaten and the would-be physicians become centers of contagion. The lean may wax and the fat wane, but all go to extremes. Henry IV speaks what might be the motto of the histories: "a little More than a little is by much too much" (I:III.ii.72-73). Implicit everywhere is the unrealized possibility in both man and state of a kind of Aristotelian norm, an ideal of moderation or of equilibrium among opposing forces.

As these quotations have shown, images from the contemporary psychology of the humors help to shape the larger conceptual framework of these plays. The centrality of these metaphors is suggested by the frequency with which characters who fulfill at times a choral role employ them. It is but a step from fatness to disease. Occasionally rising toward the end of his life above his absorption in self-pity, Richard prophesies a growing sickness he failed to cure when he was himself king: the time will come that "foul sin gathering head Shall break into corruption" (V.i.58-59). Meanwhile, as in *Hamlet* (III.iv.148-149), "rank corruption, mining all within, Infects unseen", and the infection spreads before it is finally lanced. Henry IV, like Richard before him, becomes increasingly a helpless observer of a malady he cannot cure:

Then you perceive the body of our kingdom,  
How foul it is; what rank diseases grow,  
And with what danger, near the heart of it. (II:III.i.38-40)

Henry at least faces more frankly than Richard the fact that he himself is the sick heart. In Part II, the Archbishop, though a rebel, maintains a very de-

tached attitude toward the civil war. He speaks of the discontent following the supplanting of Richard by Bolingbroke as a sickness of the "beastly feeder", the people themselves, who are like dogs that alternately sate themselves and "disgorge" successive kings: "The commonwealth is sick of their own choice; Their over-greedy love hath surfeited" (II.iii.87-88). Later he includes two reigns and both royalists and rebels in a general indictment:

we are all diseas'd  
And with our surfeiting and wanton hours  
Have brought ourselves into a burning fever,  
And we must bleed for it; of which disease  
Our late King, Richard, being infected, died. (II:IV. i. 54-58)

And, though he disclaims it, he also tries to become England's physician,

To diet rank minds sick of happiness  
And purge the obstructions which begin to stop  
Our very veins of life.

"Surfeiting" and "wanton" are above all the words for Richard II. The disease which begins in the mind of this king spreads to the body of the state and to its noblemen, and the judicious bleeding and purging of England are delayed throughout three plays, until the "mood" (and "mode") is changed, and the "soil" of Henry IV's dubious achievement goes with him into the earth (II:IV. v. 190-200). To trace this creeping infection to its source, a closer analysis of related themes in *Richard II* is now in order.

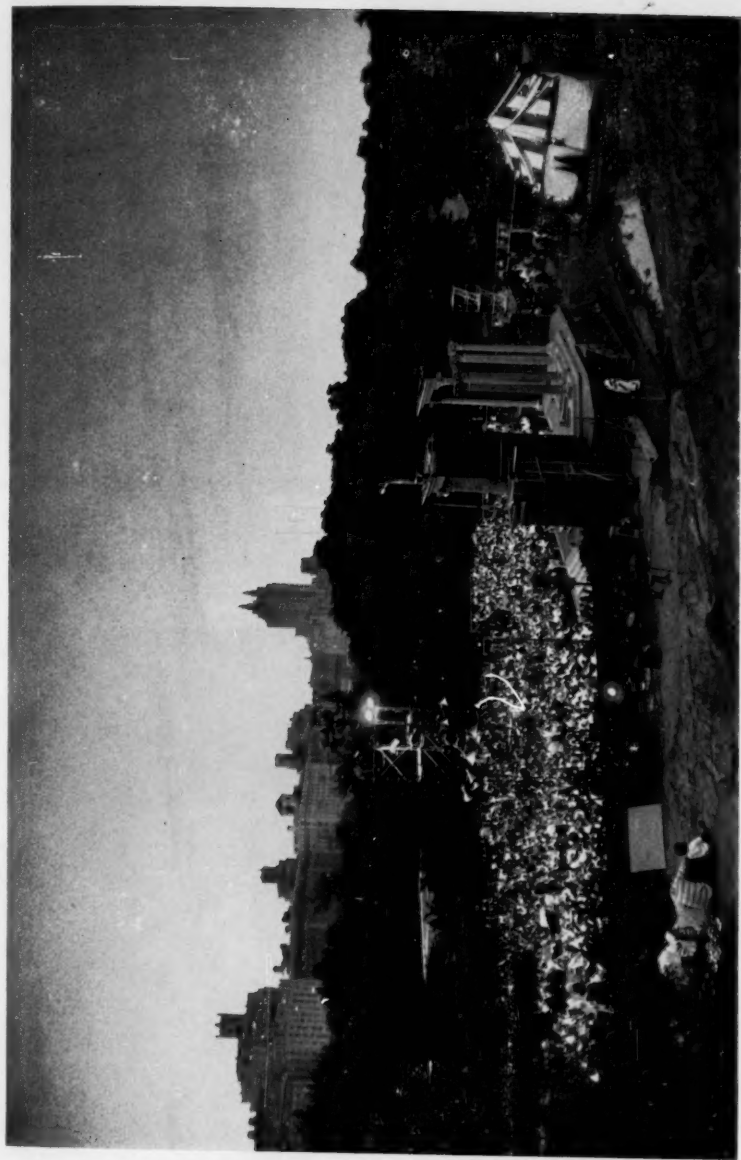
## II

Themes of negligence, excess, and waste are developed in *Richard II* primarily through several strands of imagery—those of time, the garden and sickness, and the farm and death. All are interrelated in a play whose poetic unity has in the last decade been demonstrated many times. When Richard, the state's timekeeper, threatens to appropriate the titles and property which banished Bolingbroke should inherit from John of Gaunt, York sternly equates the rights of inheritance with cosmic law:

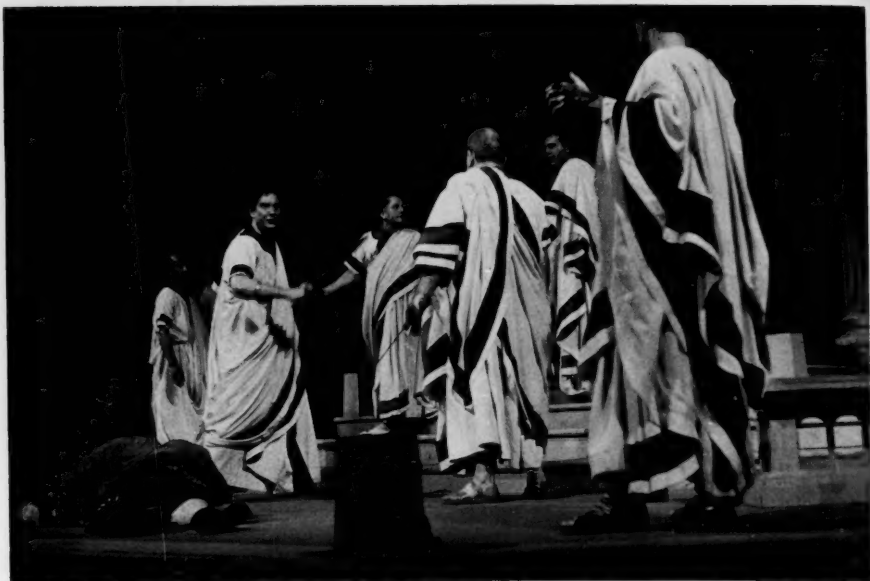
Take Hereford's rights away, and take from Time  
His charters and his customary rights;  
Let not to-morrow then ensue to-day;  
Be not thyself—for how art thou a king  
But by fair sequence and succession? (II. i. 195-199)

To interrupt the succession of father to son is to endanger the blood descent from king to king, even to unking a rightful sovereign. It is to question the very foundations of what the Gardener (in III.iv) calls "law and form and due proportion", to make time itself have a stop. The suggestion is that "Time" draws up all charters and alone gives them meaning. Within forty lines of this warning we learn that the king is indeed not himself, but "basely led By flatterers...", and within a hundred that the discontented nobles have decided to seize the time to "make high majesty look like itself..." Bolingbroke is later accused of having returned to England "Before the expiration of thy time" (the prescribed six years of banishment), and of taking "advantage of





Stage and audience at the New York Shakespeare Festival, looking towards the skyline of Central Park West. Photo by George E. Joseph.



*Julius Caesar*, New York Shakespeare Festival. Staats Cotsworth as Caesar (slain); Howland Chamberlin, Cinna; Ernest Graves (Cassius); Frederic Downs, Decius Brutus; Rex Everhart, Casca; John Harkins, Brutus; William Shust, Metellus Cimber. Photo by George E. Joseph.



*Julius Caesar*, New York Shakespeare Festival. Final scene, with Octavius standing above the body of Brutus, the suicide. Photo by George E. Joseph.

the absent time". But Richard's time is "absent" less because he is away in Ireland when Bolingbroke returns than because he has failed to act promptly within it and has abused it. And yet the usurper compounds Richard's crimes. Confronted by the king's loyal friends, Bolingbroke claims "I am a subject, And I challenge law" (II.iii.133-134). York's reply, however, suggests that Hereford is plucking or seizing (the play's words for the usurper) for his own ends the law and time ignored by Richard. York has had a "feeling" for the injury done Bolingbroke,

But in this kind to come, in braving arms,  
Be his own carver and cut out his way  
To find out right with wrong—it may not be. . . . (II.iii.141-145)

Since Richard is himself, as we soon see, a far more clumsy "carver", he is soon cut out of both kingship and kingdom. In the exacting world of the histories, to lose the initiative—or even to act prematurely, like Hotspur—may be to lose one's life. Bolingbroke is above all a master of timing.

Richard dismisses his own folly by invoking divine right. And when he returns from Ireland, the Bishop of Carlisle succinctly phrases the dilemma of the king's taking action:

Fear not, my lord. That Power that made you king  
Hath power to keep you king in spite of all.  
The means that heaven yields must be embrac'd,  
And not neglected. . . .

If he remains king "in spite of all", Richard surely has no need to rouse himself against the enemy. This doubleness of attitude deeply penetrates the play, for images of inexorability, like those of the rising and falling sun or buckets or of Fortune's wheel, are everywhere contrasted with less fatalistic images of medicine and growth. For nearly two hundred lines at the center of the play, as Richard learns piecemeal that soldiers, subjects, nobles, and favorites have left him, he veers between an exultant characterization of himself as the "Searching eye of heaven" that leaves the guilty "trembling at themselves" (36-62) and a cry of despair: "All souls that will be safe, fly from my side; For time hath set a blot upon my pride" (80-81). He blames the "time", which, like his nobles, the "unruly jades", he could not "manage".

That he himself has abused time Richard finally sees with unusual objectivity in Act V when he is alone in Pomfret:

How sour sweet music is  
When time is broke and no proportion kept . . . !  
And here have I the daintiness of ear  
To check time broke in a disordered string;  
But, for the concord of my state and time,  
Had not an ear to hear my true time broke.  
I wasted time, and now doth time waste me. . . . (V.v.42-49)

Few of the kings of the histories have the dainty ear to match royal decree with external event, neither anticipating nor delaying. Dying Gaunt had hoped that his advice to Richard would "Enforce attention like deep harmony", but York said that Richard's ears were "stopp'd" with flattery. And, opposing

deafening "will" to listening "wit", York implied that Richard was out of step with kingdom and self: "all too late comes counsel to be heard Where will doth mutiny with wit's regard" (II. i. 27-28). Richard's inner mutiny renders him unable to maintain the "concord of my state and time", and he falls from wilfulness to will-lessness when first affrighted. Like several other crises in these plays, this fall is enacted simultaneously on the level of plot, character, and language. In the theatre, in the solemn descent from Flint Castle in Act III, stage setting and movement are extensions of verbal imagery. And at Westminster in Act IV Richard's ritualistic speeches and his gestures unkinging himself celebrate, as has been pointed out, a kind of inverse coronation. Incapable of setting firmly the pace of England's affairs, Richard must eventually dance to another's tune. The king who cannot keep time is doomed at the end of the play to become a timepiece: "my time Runs posting on in Bolingbroke's proud joy, While I stand fooling here, his Jack o' th' clock" (V. v. 58-60). And in an elaborately formal figure, the monarch who faced many follies and, finally outfaced, shatters his mirrored visage at Westminster, reduces himself to a mere clockface, time's "numb'ring clock". Though it has received little attention, the imagery of time is developed and resolved as satisfyingly in Shakespeare's plotting of Richard's decline and fall as the more famous imagery of the sun, which characterizes the sun king's defeat in his pathetic wish: "O that I were a mockery king of snow, Standing before the sun of Bolingbroke . . ." (IV. i. 260-261).

Richard's time is "broke" at the very beginning of the play, and his early folly is also depicted in related images of gardening and sickness. Though the parallels between Richard as gardener and king are developed fully only in the last scene of Act III, they are central to the meaning of the entire drama. The Gardener tells us that Richard, like a careful Adam, should have pruned his garden or state in the spring. The gardeners themselves

at time of year  
Do wound the bark, the skin of our fruit trees,  
Lest, being over-proud in sap and blood,  
With too much riches it confound itself. (III. iv. 57-60)

The moral of this prudence is pointed up yet more crisply in an allied image from an earlier play. In *2 Henry VI*, Queen Margaret warns Henry of the ambitions of Humphrey of Gloucester:

Now 'tis the spring, and weeds are shallow-rooted.  
Suffer them now, and they'll o'ergrow the garden  
And choke the herbs for want of husbandry. (III. i. 31-33)

We are reminded of the ancient tithe exacted for God or king at harvest time, as though abundance would breed pride and consequent guilt. Waste and ruin, apparently, are not only the result of human folly but the inevitable outcome of any undisciplined process of nature. Things in a natural state grow too much, and weeds and nobles must be trimmed. But heedless Richard is swarming with caterpillars. One implication of these passages is that a good king must improve on nature by protecting living things (especially himself) against their own excesses. And he must foresee trouble and take his stitch in time. Government demands perpetual wakefulness.

Careless Richard has "suffer'd" a "disordered spring". He has failed to "Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays That look too lofty in our commonwealth" (III.iv.34-35). And he has neglected to "root away The noisome weeds" and to trim judiciously: "Superfluous branches We lop away, that bearing boughs may live" (63-64). The thinly disguised political allegory of the garden scene scarcely succeeds in making these remarkable active verbs—"wound", "Cut off", "root away", and "lop away" (when applied to "great and growing men")—very palatable to the modern reader. But Shakespeare takes his often daring analogues between the king, the state, and external nature as seriously here as in the major tragedies, which imply a very different ethic. The Gardener, whose formal speech suggests that he has a choral function as a kind of alter-ego for Richard, states that Richard should have acted "like an executioner", for now "our sea-walled garden, the whole land, Is full of weeds, her fairest flowers chok'd up..." (43-44). But at the very beginning of the play, the sternness of this duty of the king is contrasted sharply with Richard's indecisiveness. Richard there attempts to resolve the "swelling difference" between Bolingbroke and Mowbray, not by the "Justice" of a traditional duel, but by banishment. At first, as the blank verse of the first scene shifts suddenly into rhyme, he chants

Let's purge this choler without letting blood.  
This we prescribe, though no physician;  
Deep malice makes too deep incision.  
Forget, forgive; conclude and be agreed;  
Our doctors say this is no month to bleed. (153-157)

Like a physician maintaining a balance among the body's humors, however, Richard should promptly have made a "deep incision" to "purge" blood over-proud and too rich, just as the precautionary Gardener wounds the bark of his fruit trees. The parallel is explicit: tapping is bleeding, and both as gardener and as doctor Richard is negligent. Even Gaunt's solicitations for his son fail to account fully for Richard's stopping of the duel at Coventry in the third scene, "for", as Richard says, "our eyes do hate the dire aspect Of civil wounds plough'd up with neighbors' sword..." (127-128). This is the moment to "check time broke" and the "too fast growing sprays", but Richard is not listening.

That Richard's eyes have not always hated civil wounds is made clear in the somber colloquy which takes place between these first and third scenes of chivalric challenging. Here the Duchess of Gloucester tells us of Richard's hand in the death of his uncle Woodstock, who was "crack'd, and all the precious liquor spilt... By envy's hand and murder's bloody axe" (19, 21). And old Gaunt, recalling this political murder later, asks Richard not to spare the blood which they all derive from Edward III: "That blood already, like the pelican, Hast thou tapp'd out and drunkenly carous'd" (II.i.126-127). Richard has failed to bleed when he should and has tapped and drunk the family blood he should have preserved. Had he bled the "great and growing men" in time, the Gardener tells us, "They might have liv'd to bear, and he to taste Their fruits of duty" (III.iv.62-63). But there is neither healthy bearing nor fruit in Richard's garden; his land has no "hope to grow" (III.ii.212). And his

successor, who greatly exceeds Richard's crimes by plucking out a king "planted many years" and by "grafting" new plants, reaps a "field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls" (IV. i. 144).

In still other closely related groups of images, Richard's garden becomes a farm and his land his deathbed. In Gaunt's most famous speech and in several passages on divine right, the play gives us two of the most exalted pictures of England and the divinity of kingship in Shakespeare. But by Act II both have fallen from high estate. Gaunt proceeds from his praise of "This other Eden, demi-paradise", to a terrible indictment. "This blessed plot" is "now leas'd out . . . Like to a tenement or pelting farm" (II. i. 59-60).<sup>2</sup> It is bound in not with the "triumphant sea", which keeps it from "infection", but with "inky blots and rotten parchment bonds", and thus the conqueror of others "Hath made a shameful conquest of itself" (64, 66). The "customary rights" of time have become opportunistic "parchment bonds", and Richard robs his land as he robs his cousin. Gaunt is eloquent about the crime of turning a royal realm into real estate: "Why, cousin, wert thou regent of the world, It were a shame to let this land by lease . . ." (109-110). As the demi-paradise becomes a farm, the king becomes a mere overlord: "Landlord of England art thou now, not King. Thy state of law is bondslave to the law . . ." (113-114). This businessman is a far cry from the "deputy elected by the Lord", whom Richard later says the "breath of worldly men cannot depose . . ." (III. ii. 56-57). When the shrill chorus of nobles denounces Richard's commercial exploitation of a sacred trust, we are reminded of the threat to the state in *1 Henry IV* when the rebels propose to divide England or of Lear's "darker purpose" in dividing his kingdom. "The King's grown bankrupt, like a broken man", the nobles cry, and "Reproach and dissolution hangeth over him" (II. i. 257-258). In ravaging his realm Richard is ravaging his subjects: "The commons hath he pill'd with grievous taxes And quite lost their hearts . . ." (246-247). And the old word "pill'd" (stripped bare, peeled) leads us to the central group of metaphors in which Richard is seen as destroying himself.

The Gardener speaks of the "wholesome herbs Swarming with caterpillars", and in one of the speeches in the play which unite several of its major strands of imagery, Gaunt identifies the sickness of the king with that of his land. In metaphors like these, perhaps for the first time, Shakespeare has brought the chronicle of a king and of his kingdom into perfect unity.

Thy deathbed is no lesser than thy land,  
Wherein thou liest in reputation sick. . . . (II. i. 95-96)

The doctor who should be bleeding the sick body of the realm is himself laid out sick upon it, at the mercy of the physicians who "first wounded" him.

A thousand flatterers sit within thy crown,  
Whose compass is no bigger than thy head;  
And yet, incaged in so small a verge,  
The waste is no whit lesser than thy land. (100-103)

<sup>2</sup> In his suggestive edition of *Woodstock* (London, 1946), A. P. Rossiter points out that Shakespeare not only carries over word for word many of these charges from the earlier play, but takes "as read" in *Woodstock* a complicity with Mowbray in Gloucester's death which weakens Richard's judgment of the contest in Act I. See pp. 47-53, 198, 225-226. What is important here is that Shakespeare fully integrates what he borrows from this and other sources.



The waste (waist) of the king's "Controlling majesty" is the waste of the state. The caterpillars (an Elizabethan commonplace for flattering parasites like Bushy and company), by eating away Richard's power to govern, are devouring the green garden of England. In a similar metaphor, Richard himself later sees his crown as his court, destroyed by idle courtiers. The decline of crown, court, and land is simultaneous. But, unwilling to admit that his principal enemy is his own indulgence, represented by his minions, Richard extravagantly views his real opponent as death, who is merely marking time until he strikes. This illusion is developed in several remarkable figures.

Even before he meets Bolingbroke at Flint Castle, Richard—projecting his own faults, perhaps, and posing them as an implacable abstract enemy—gives us his own version of Gaunt's deathbed warning: "within the hollow crown That rounds the mortal temples of a king Keeps Death his court..." (III.ii. 160-162). The folly Richard has not governed is personified and seen as governing him. Death allows the king to "monarchize" and infuses him with conceit, as if flesh were

brass impregnable; and humour'd thus,  
Comes at the last, and with a little pin  
Bores through his castle wall, and farewell king! (168-170)

These images parallel the Gardener's, of Richard as a tree in England's garden, surrounded by "weeds which his broad-spreading leaves did shelter, That seem'd in eating him to hold him up..." (III.ii. 50-51). The "sea-walled garden" of Gaunt's speech and the Gardener's, the "flinty ribs" of Flint and Pomfret, and even the divinity that hedges kings cannot defend against himself the guilty monarch who "With nothing shall be pleas'd till he be eas'd With being nothing" (V.v. 40-41). Self-pitying Richard rarely associates his own suffering of the weeds with the doom he views as inexorable. In this respect and others he lacks the stature of the later tragic heroes. Rationalizing the effects of his negligence as necessity, Richard perhaps sees himself, the physician, dieted and bled by death. He implies that he could confront the sword of Bolingbroke, but is clearly helpless before the "little pin". "Subjected thus", Richard cries, "How can you say to me I am a king" (III.ii. 176-177)? On his way to the Tower after he is deposed, he tells the queen, "I am sworn brother, sweet, To grim Necessity, and he and I Will keep a league till death" (V.i. 20-22). This is divine right turned strangely upside down: can't be deposed becomes must be. But there are several indications in the play that Richard cannot really believe in this right, in himself, or in his kingdom.

Bolingbroke crisply observes after Richard has lost power that the shadow of Richard's sorrow has destroyed the shadow of his face. He thereby emphasizes the unreal character of both the kingly fears and the fair "show" of the man who "looks" like a king (III.iii. 68-71). Richard's world as king is as fanciful as the thoughts which people his "little world" when he is alone in Pomfret. The weeds and caterpillars which begin to "eat" him are like the generations of "still-breeding thoughts" (IV.v. 8) in his head, for both breed only destruction. In one sense, Richard himself is probably Death, tapping out with a little pin the life he cannot govern. The actual threats to the state seem half-shaped by the sick fears of the king, and its later crises partly mirror his

fall within his own mind from false security to helpless self-division. This play, dominated by the imagery of excess, presents in its central character a man who turns from an extreme of posturing bravado to passive weeping and finds no kingly norm between. He leaves the seat of a kingdom to "sit upon the ground And tell sad stories of the death of kings" (III. ii. 155-156). He abandons a land "Dear for her reputation through the world" for a "little little grave, an obscure grave", and he becomes his own "tomb". In the language of the play, Richard "melts" away, and we recall Gaunt's stern warning: "Light vanity, insatiate cormorant, Consuming means, soon preys upon itself" (II. i. 38-39).

### III

Richard's failure as watchful gardener and physician bequeaths to his successor a realm fat and very sick. The grieving queen suggests an intimate cause-and-effect relationship between the two reigns when she fancies herself giving birth to Bolingbroke, her "sorrow's dismal heir" (II. ii. 62), almost as though he were begotten by Richard's folly. But the play's poetic justice is not so simple. Bolingbroke's watchful shrewdness collaborates with Richard's ineffectuality to turn Fortune's wheel. The two men, like other protagonists in Shakespeare, are functions of each other and of their total situation. They are locked in a grim dance in which Richard's weakness opens the way to power for Bolingbroke, and Bolingbroke's silent strength matches Richard's expectations of annihilation. Metaphors of water and of moving buckets suggest a Bolingbroke on high poised and ready to flood a royal reservoir that empties itself. But judgments in the later histories are kinder to the wastrel Richard than to the politician Bolingbroke, whose usurpation and killing of a king are thought more heinous than all of Richard's folly. Though a trimmer, Bolingbroke cannot weed his own garden, for his foes are "enrooted with his friends..." (II. IV. i. 207). In a long speech to Prince Hal in *1 Henry IV*, troubled Henry sees Richard's blind rioting recapitulated in his son, perhaps as a punishment for Henry's own "mistreadings". This comparison between Richard and Hal affords us a convenient vantage point for pursuing thematic imagery of waste and excess through succeeding plays of this group. Analysis will be centered upon three or four critical passages and the character of Falstaff.

After the excesses of Richard's reign, the Lancastrians reject fatness and imprudence in both man and commonwealth. This rejection underlies the famous first interview of Henry with his son, the Prince's first soliloquy, and the Prince's later banishment of Falstaff. Henry tells Hal that when he himself courted the crown, his own state, "Seldom but sumptuous, show'd like a feast And won by rareness such solemnity" (III. ii. 57-59). The politician's view of public appearance as strategy could scarcely be further refined. In sixty-odd lines, Henry employs "seldom" three times to refer to his activities and reinforces it with a dozen other words suggesting economy. In a score of very different terms, however, Henry says that men were with King Richard's presence "glutted, gorg'd, and full", for he,

being daily swallowed by men's eyes,  
They surfeited with honey and began  
To loathe the taste of sweetness. . . . (70-72, 84)



Kingship is here a kind of candy which should be given the people infrequently, probably when one wishes something from them. Three of Henry's verbs are especially significant:

And then I stole all courtesy from heaven,  
And dress'd myself in such humility  
That I did pluck allegiance from men's hearts. . . . (50-52)

It is unnecessary to apply these words to Hal to observe that his seldomness (and his careful "dress") has something in common with that of his father. Indeed, as prince (though not as king), his seldom-acting in the interests of the state is rather like Henry's seldom-appearing, but it commits him to greater personal risks.

Though Hal spends his youth as a madcap of "unyok'd humour" desiring small beer and as a friend of the "trunk of humours", he seems to know from the beginning what he is doing. In his first soliloquy (I. ii. 219-241) he exhibits the theatrical sense of timing of other Shakespearian heroes, sharpened to a remarkable degree. He says he will "imitate the sun" which "doth permit" the clouds to "smother up his beauty", so that his eventual shining will be "more wonder'd at". One of his figures about holidays employs his father's terms: "when they seldom come, they wish'd-for come, And nothing pleaseth but rare accidents." He wants his reformation to "show more goodly and attract more eyes Than that which hath no foil to set it off." This is surely the returning prodigal calculating every effect: he will "offend to make offence a skill". Part of this attitude derives from the emphasis upon absoluteness in the heroic code, according to which it is no "sin to covet honor", and "Two stars" cannot "share" in glory (I:V. iv. 64-65). It derives also from the necessity of the protagonist in Shakespeare to have a "dainty" ear, from his necessity to collaborate in the nick of time with his fate: "the readiness is all." "Percy is but my factor . . .", the Prince tells his father,

To engross up glorious deeds on my behalf;  
And I will call him to so strict account  
That he shall render every glory up. . . . (I:III. ii. 147-150)

Bolingbroke's earlier imagery of "more" and "less" here becomes financial. This young accountant will appear to be eating and sleeping, but when Hotspur's bond of honor has matured, Hal will spring to life and exact both principal and interest, "Or I will tear the reckoning from his heart" (152). Behind this ferocity of course lies the ancient notion of the conqueror's (like the cannibal's) gaining the strength and virtue of the conquered. But the Prince's accounting reminds us of the very different "trim reckoning" by which Falstaff reduces honor to a word, and we must turn to the knight who only reckons his sack to understand more fully why the Prince seems to be eating his cake and having it too.

When Henry V banishes the "tutor and the feeder of my riots" at the end of Part II, he speaks of his companionship with Falstaff as a "dream", which—"being awak'd" and watching for sleeping England—he now despises (II: V. v. 53-55). The younger Henry apparently dreams of Falstaff as Richard II seemed to dream of Bolingbroke in England's garden, but unlike Richard, he does

not succumb to his nightmare. Some critics have been offended by an image (among others) from Henry's rejection speech which the metaphors we have been following should help to deepen and justify: "Make less thy body, hence, and more thy grace; Leave gormandizing" (56-57). To throw these words and this controversial scene into larger perspective, we must give appropriate emphasis to the virtues of law and order embodied in the Chief Justice and of prudence and economy running through all of the histories. And we must remember the surprising seriousness with which Falstaff defends himself and the Prince promises to banish him ("I do, I will") during the mock interview—really the trial of a way of life—in Part I (II.iv.462-528). Both seem to know from the beginning that this dream will end. But the complexity of Falstaff and of our attitudes toward him is the best measure of the delicate balance among political and moral attitudes maintained throughout these plays.

The sympathy of the world has always been with the fat knight, and the popularity of these plays would be vastly reduced if, unimaginably, he were not in them. The Prince's turning from "plump Jack", "All the world", can be seen as the rejection of fuller life in favor of power, of being for becoming. That Jack is perhaps an inevitable companion for the Prince, Henry IV makes plain when he associates fatness with nobility in speaking of his son: "Most subject is the fattest soil to weeds; And he, the noble image of my youth, Is overspread with them" (II:IV.iv.54-56). But in a comic but highly significant defense of the medicine he recommends for every illness, Falstaff says that the royal blood or soil in Hal was originally "lean, sterile, and bare" and had to be "manured, husbanded, and till'd" with "fertile sherris" to make Hal "valiant" (II:IV.iii.92-135). Falstaff's phenomenal attractiveness and his mockery of honor and all state affairs give us, among other things, just the insight we need into the "cold blood" of the Lancasters, and also into the dying chivalric code for which his "catechism" (I:V.i.128-140) is a kind of epitaph or *reductio ad absurdum*. But the parallels between the sustained imagery we have been following and Shakespeare's characterization of Falstaff emphasize a darker side of this hill of flesh and illuminate his profoundly functional role in this entire cycle of plays.

Far from threatening the structure of the histories, as some have maintained, Falstaff is one of their central organizing symbols. It is tempting to guess that Shakespeare rapidly found the imagery drawn from nature and animal life which is so marked a feature of the style of *Henry VI* and, far more subtly and intricately, of *Richard II*, inadequate for his increasingly complicated meanings. However we account for it, he developed or chanced upon another and far more expressive vehicle for the ideas of the sick state and king associated in *Richard II* with the overgrown garden. The final evolution of the metaphor of the fat garden and of the sick body politic is probably the fat man. Metaphors from the unweeded garden may underline or even symbolize the sickness of the realm, to be sure, but the tun of man can also, if as alert and witty as Falstaff, make the best possible case for fatness, for the "sin" of being "old and merry", for "instinct" and life rather than grinning honor and death. And he can afford us the point of view from which thinness and economy can be seen as inadequate or unpleasant characteristics. Thus he can throw into clearer relief the entire political and personal ethic of the histories. If we compare the

relatively simple equivalence between the physical ugliness of the "elvis-mark'd, abortive, rooting hog", Richard III, and the disordered state, on the one hand, with the ambivalent richness of the relationships between the "shapes" of Falstaff and rebellious England, on the other, we can have a helpful index of the deepening of Shakespeare's thought and his growing mastery of his medium over the five or six years (1592-3 to 1597-8) that separate the first of the major histories from the greatest.

Falstaff, then, is both the sickness of the state, the prince of the caterpillars preying on the commonwealth, and the remedy for some of its ills. And his role dramatizes the gulf between the essential virtues of the private man and those of the ruler, for we see in *Antony*, the feast which nourishes the one often sickens the other. Timeless Falstaff is in a curiously reciprocal relationship with time-serving Henry IV, for they are the principal competitors for the Prince's allegiance, in affording by precept and example radically contrasting mirrors for the young magistrate. But the usurper who disdained to follow the example of rioting Richard, as we have seen, finds his eldest son rioting with Falstaff—a kind of embodiment of Henry's inability to weed his own garden. Both the politician and the reveler must disappear from the world of young Henry V before he can find his own voice somewhere between them. He had to befriend Falstaff to know this man's gifts and "language", and in the "perfectness of time" he had to act to arrest the threat of such "gross terms" to the kingdom (II:IV. iv. 68-75). The threat is real, for Falstaff is almost the result of a process similar to that referred to by the Archbishop in defending the rebels in Part II: "The time misord'ed doth, in common sense, Crowd us and crush us to this monstrous form. . ." (II:IV. ii. 33-34). We can hardly sentimentalize a Falstaff who says he will "turn diseases to commodity" (II:I. ii. 277), when we remember the Bastard's great attack upon "commodity" (opportunism, time-serving) in the nearly contemporary *King John*.<sup>3</sup> And we cannot ignore the outrageousness of Falstaff's cry upon hearing of Hal's succession, just before he himself is banished: "Let us take any man's horses; the laws of England are at my commandment" (II:V. iii. 141-142). Falstaff threatens to usurp the "customary rights" of time, governed as he says he is only by the moon, and to make the law "bondslave" to lawlessness.

Falstaff is depicted in language very similar to that employed in two of the most vivid pictures of disorder in all of Shakespeare, both of them from 2 *Henry IV*. Once in a kind of mock despair, the wily Northumberland prays that "order die! And let this world no longer be a stage To feed contention in a ling'ring act . . ." (I. i. 154-156). Later, the dying king, apprehensive lest his realm receive the "scum" of "neighbour confines" and become a "wilderness", fears that Hal will

Pluck down my officers, break my decrees;  
For now a time is come to mock at form.  
Harry the Fifth is crown'd. Up, vanity . . . !

<sup>3</sup> As has frequently been observed, the Falstaff of Part II is a less complicated and attractive figure than the Falstaff of Part I. Increasingly obsessed with his age, his aches and diseases, and, being rarely in the company of the Prince, at once more arrogant and less witty, he seems to embody less of the high-spiritedness which the Lancastrians lack and more of the corruption which threatens to engulf the kingdom.

For the Fifth Harry from curb'd license plucks  
 The muzzle of restraint, and the wild dog  
 Shall flesh his tooth on every innocent. (IV. v. 118-20, 131-133)

The formless man, "vanity in years", who has mocked at all forms of honor has been the prince's closest companion, potentially a powerful voice in state affairs. The real target of the "fool and jester" has been the "rusty curb of old father antic the law" (I:I. ii. 69-70), and the violence in the lines above of "wild dog" and "flesh" reminds us of the "butcher" of the histories, Richard III, and of the cormorant-villains of the tragedies. The rejection of Falstaff marks the new king's turning from the negligence and excess that had nearly destroyed England since the reign of Richard II. As the young king dismisses one tutor and embraces another in the Chief Justice, he cultivates his garden in "law and form and due proportion":

The tide of blood in me  
 Hath proudly flow'd in vanity till now.  
 Now doth it turn and ebb back to the sea,  
 Where it shall mingle with the state of floods  
 And flow henceforth in formal majesty. (II:V. ii. 129-133)

The proud river of the private will has become the sea of life of the commonwealth. The blood which here as in the tragedies is the basis of both mood and mind is purged. The man who said he was of all humors comes to achieve the "finely bolted" balance which Henry once thought characterized the traitor Scroop:

spare in diet,  
 Free from gross passion or of mirth or anger . . .  
 Not working with the eye without the ear,  
 And but in purged judgment trusting neither. (H.V., II. ii. 131-136)

Henry V is by no means the kind of hero we would admire fully in the tragedies. But the Choruses which celebrate his virtues make perfectly plain that this trim watcher rises from his father's vain engrossing of "cank' red heaps" of gold to genuine magnanimity—the fearless sun king:

A largess universal, like the sun,  
 His liberal eye doth give to every one,  
 Thawing cold fear. (Pro. 4. 43-45)

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## How Significant are Textual Parallels? A New Author for *Pericles*?

F. D. HOENIGER

### I

**M**OST readers of *Pericles* are agreed that the play's literary and dramatic quality is highly uneven. Much of the first two acts is written in doggerel, sometimes flat sometimes twisted, for which no superior dramatist, let alone Shakespeare, can be held responsible. On the other hand, some passages, especially in the last three acts, bear the mark of Shakespeare's consummate verse-artistry and abound in echoes to Shakespeare's last romances, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*. It is no wonder then, that from early days doubt was cast on the play's authorship. Though on the title-page of the quartos, *Pericles* was attributed to Shakespeare, it was omitted from the First Folio. Only in the second impression of the Third Folio was it finally included in the Shakespeare canon, and then together with a number of apocrypha that no one today would attribute to Shakespeare. Editors in the eighteenth century were no happier about *Pericles*, as its omission in the editions of Shakespeare's works from Pope to Capell indicates. Since Malone, *Pericles* has enjoyed a fairly regular place in the canon, mainly on account of the three last "Shakespearean" acts. For some time, critics and editors sought to explain the play's obvious weaknesses in terms of youthful authorship. They accepted Dryden's unreliable statement that "Shakespeare's Muse her *Pericles* first bore". But when towards the middle of the last century, scholars were driven to assign to the play a much later place in the canon, namely at the beginning of the "last" plays, controversy took a new turn in the form of lengthy theses and counter-theses about the play's authorship. Some even went so far as to reedit only the last three acts as a unit, which they called *Marina*. Yet no agreement has been reached. The situation to-day is as confused or unsettled as three generations ago, for no theory based on literary or bibliographical grounds has found a wide following. Many scholars still attribute parts of *Pericles*, especially the first two acts, to Heywood or to Wilkins or, more cautiously, to "some unidentified collaborator", while others postulate that Shakespeare wrote the entire play but that what was printed as the first quarto (from which all other texts are derivative) is so far removed from the original as sometimes to eclipse Shakespeare's planet completely. There the controversy stands, unresolved. It is still very hot, and I propose to keep the fire burning by introducing yet another collaborator, one nobody seems ever to have thought of before in connection with *Pericles*.

That such a proposition, if it at all merits attention, will keep the issue hot can hardly be doubted, for while it may echo much of the learned debate of the last hundred years on *Pericles*, it goes counter to the general trend in present-day Shakespearian criticism in at least two ways. For it will be argued, first of all, that at least one of the plays now regularly included among his works is of mixed authorship. And what is even more heretic, if not foolhardy, the evidence for the claim of my new collaborator, John Day (known best for his *Parliament of Bees*), will take mainly the form of textual parallels. The disintegrators of Shakespeare, even peripheral Shakespeare, are clearly out of favor in scholarly circles—witness R. A. Foakes's skillful attempt in his edition of *Henry VIII*<sup>1</sup> to rehabilitate Shakespeare's claim to the entire play, or Hereward Price's scathing attack on those who would see the hand of Peele or Kyd in parts of *Titus Andronicus*<sup>2</sup>; or, to come closer to home, Philip Edwards' bibliographical article on *Pericles*<sup>3</sup>, where he suggests that two reporters of the play, of a markedly different technique and competence, may be sufficient to account for all literary incongruities in the text of the quarto. It has in fact become the general tendency to show all hypothetical collaborators in Shakespeare's plays—with the exception of Middleton in the Hecate scenes of *Macbeth*—the door, unabashed by the multifold evidence that similar collaborators were often encouraged to enter when the greatest of Shakespeare's colleagues, Marlowe or Chapman or Jonson or Fletcher, were at work. The only strong voice of dissent has been Dover Wilson's, notably in his introduction to the three parts of *Henry VI*.

As for textual parallels, evidence of this kind has for good reason become widely discredited. It is not very long since that such reputable scholars as Tucker Brooke and Una Ellis-Fermor were shocked out of the assumption that Marlowe had a share in *The Contention* and in *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*. Of a host of other theories of collaboration in Elizabethan drama, developed by Sykes and others in the nineteen twenties and based mainly on textual parallels, few receive any scholarly sanction today. In some instances, it was easily demonstrated that certain tricks of style, phrases or images, which had featured strongly in the evidence submitted are common to a number of Shakespeare's contemporaries, if not proverbial. To others, the devastating argument was applied that Elizabethan dramatists were prone to imitate one another, that no scruples troubled them in the act of stealing ideas, images, or other literary devices from their fellow-playwrights, so that the presence of striking textual parallels may tell us at best something about influence, nothing about authorship. For these and other reasons, such theories as the one that Heywood had a share in *Pericles* find little support today. As Heywood was a hackwriter who tried his fortune with every conceivable kind of play, it is hardly surprising that he now and then produced something faintly similar to *Pericles*; especially considering that most of his plays were probably written after *Pericles*. Occasional similarities in dramatic situation—an equally fickle basis for arguments involving authorship—and occasional textual parallels to *Pericles* can be found as often in the plays of Lyly or Dekker as in those of

<sup>1</sup> In the introduction to the revised Arden edition of the play, 1957.

<sup>2</sup> See *JEGP*, XLII (Jan. 1943), 55-81.

<sup>3</sup> See "An Approach to the Problem of *Pericles*", *Shakespeare Survey* 5 (1952), pp. 25-49.



Heywood. No wonder that scholars first became discouraged, and then sought for comfort among those critics who disdained the very idea that great Shakespeare should ever have erred so much in taste as to collaborate with his inferior crew, or as to complete a play they had started.

Yet is it not time to ask ourselves with Dover Wilson, whether the present reaction against the kind of evidence for authorship so frequently adduced by scholars of thirty or forty years ago has not gone too far? Sound scholarship demands greater restraint and caution than Sykes showed, not to mention J. M. Robertson. The disastrous fate of many of their theories has been a healthy lesson. It has brought home to us the need for a more thorough knowledge of common Elizabethan idiom, of proverbial phrases and stock imagery, and of the ways in which plays could deteriorate, in the theatre or in the hands of surreptitious reporters, before being printed. It has shown us how difficult it is to arrive at any degree of certainty about authorship, particularly mixed authorship, when, as is so often the case, outward evidence is lacking. But this awareness of difficulties should not make us shrink from our labors! If nothing in literature can be proven without outward evidence, this surely does not mean that all work on internal evidence will be valueless. No better evidence being available, one must make the best of textual evidence and similar data. And what making the best means should, in general terms, be obvious: To apply to such internal evidence cautiously the principles or tests of quality and quantity. We must of course distinguish critically between significant and commonplace parallels, and five parallels will give us greater confidence than one or two. As no more specific principles than those can be applied, each case will have to be judged on its own peculiar merits. The present case for Day's collaboration in *Pericles* has, I believe, sufficient merit to warrant some attention.

## II

To clarify my approach a little, let me first discuss a few parallels in the works of John Day to *Pericles* which are unsuited for arguments of authorship. Such textual parallels can be found for most scenes in *Pericles*, the doubtful and the manifestly Shakespearian ones. The first one involves a beautiful image from the play's most impressive scene, V.i. Reminded by the yet unrecognized Marina of his wife Thaisa, Pericles exclaims: "Her stature to an inch; as wand-like straight; As silver voic'd . . ." The image "wand-like straight" is unique in Shakespeare, but a similar comparison occurs in Character VII of Day's *Parliament of Bees*: "comely necks (as straight as wands)"<sup>4</sup>. A critic who, like myself, suspects that at some stage Day contributed a share to *Pericles* might be tempted to rationalize about this parallel, in spite of the facts that the image in *Pericles* forms part of an unquestionably Shakespearian context, and that *Parliament* was probably written much later. But what matters here is that the image was invented by neither Shakespeare nor Day. It is found already in Lyly's *Mother Bombe* I.iii.107, "make us grow as straight as a wand", and perhaps earlier in literature. Day may have got it from Lyly or Shakespeare or elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Day will be to his *Works* as printed by A. H. Bullen, 1881. In that edition, there are no line references, and each work is paged separately. Spellings have been somewhat modernized. The present quotation is found on p. 53 of *Parliament of Bees*.

Equally unsuitable for evidence is the following kind of parallel. A marked feature of Day's writing is his tendency to use the same phrase, or pun, or image, time and again. One word of which he is very fond is "livery". Now this word occurs twice, and rather strikingly, in *Pericles*: "she'll wear Diana's livery" (II. v. 10), and "wears yet thy silver livery" (V. iii. 7), the latter passage moreover resembling closely one in Day's *Ile of Gulls*, "with silver wear her livery".<sup>5</sup> But Shakespeare himself uses "livery" often enough, e.g. "endure the livery of a nun" (*MND* I. i. 70). So nothing can be made of this parallel. For the same reason, Day's fondness of the phrase "in his throat . . . I return the lie" (see *Per.* II. v. 55-56) is irrelevant to arguments of authorship. The expression is common in Elizabethan drama.

The following correspondence is to be taken more seriously, though in this case too, no far-reaching deduction is warranted. In *Pericles* IV. iv, the chorus Gower asks the audience to imagine Pericles' voyage to Tharsus, where he had left behind his daughter Marina—a situation that cannot be conveniently staged:

think his pilot thought;  
So with his steerage shall your thoughts grow on—  
To fetch his daughter home, who first is gone.  
Like motes and shadows see them move awhile;  
Your ears unto your eyes I'll reconcile.<sup>6</sup>

This passage seems to echo one in the first chorus of *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (Q 1607), a play which probably preceded *Pericles* by only a few months. There, too, we are urged to imagine a sea-voyage "on the full sails of thought", and the characters are spoken of as "shadows". Yet, in the light of other available evidence, this parallel permits of no more far-reaching conclusion than that the author of *Pericles* MAY have been influenced by this and other choruses in *Travels*. For, first of all, the opening chorus of *Travels* may have been written by any of the three known collaborators in that play: Day, Wilkins, and William Rowley. Secondly, choruses of a similar kind were employed in several other plays of the time, among them Barnes's *Devil's Charter* (1606, and thus preceding both *Travels* and *Pericles*) and Heywood's *The Golden Age*, *The Silver Age*, and *The Brazen Age*. In the employment of the choruses of these plays, some interdependence in technique and also in phrasing is to be expected. Each author was prone to imitate his predecessor, Shakespeare not excepted. Lastly, the passage in *Pericles* is also anticipated by *Henry V*, III. Ch. 1-3 and 18:

Thus with imagin'd wing our swift scene flies  
In motion with no less celerity  
Than that of thought.

.....  
Grapple your minds to sternage of this navy. . . .

In their uncorrupted state, the lines in *Pericles* may therefore well have been Shakespeare's. The passages so far discussed will provide some indication as to the kind of examination to which textual parallels should be submitted, before

<sup>5</sup> P. 94; in Q (1606), sig. G4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> IV. iv. 18-22; I have adopted Steevens' "his pilot" for Q "this Pilat", and Malone's "grow on" for Q "grone": the text is quite uncertain.



they can be used with some degree of assurance in arguments involving authorship.

## III

But to proceed with the positive matter of my argument. The majority of Day's plays have perished. Many were probably never printed. The extant canon of Day's works consists of *The Blind Beggar* (with Chettle), *The Ile of Gulls*, *The Travels* (with Wilkins and W. Rowley), *Law-Tricks*, *Humour out of Breath*, *The Parliament of Bees*, and a single piece of prose, *Peregrinatio Scholastica*<sup>7</sup>. A close reading of these works revealed to me a strikingly large number of textual parallels to *Pericles*. Further encouraged by the fact that no fewer than four of Day's surviving plays were first printed in 1606-8, that is the three years preceding the publication of the first quarto of *Pericles*, I made a detailed list of all parallels, whether they in themselves seemed significant or not; everything, that is to say, from proverbial phrasing to striking correspondences of several successive lines or clusters of images. The resulting catalogue showed for most scenes of *Pericles* only one or two, and usually insignificant, parallels, but for two scenes, namely II.i and II.iii, a much larger number of parallels, including some remarkable ones.

One of these parallels was pointed out long ago by Bullen and is well-known. It involves the liveliest episode of the first two acts, the dialogue of the fishermen in II.i. The fishermen are overheard by the shipwrecked Pericles whom the stormy waves have tossed ashore near Pentapolis. Speaking of the bad weather and the bouncing porpoise they have seen, the Third Fisherman asks, "Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea", and the dialogue proceeds:

1. *Fish*. Why, as men do a-land; the great ones eat up the little ones. I can compare our rich misers to nothing so fitly as to a whale; a' plays and tumbles, driving the poor fry before him, and at last devours them all at a mouthful. Such whales have I heard on a'th' land, who never leave gaping till they swallow'd the whole parish, church, steeple, bells, and all.

*Per. Aside* A pretty moral!

3. *Fish*. But master, if I had been the sexton, I would have been that day in the belfry.

2. *Fish*. Why, man?

3. *Fish*. Because he should have swallow'd me too; and when I had been in his belly, I would have kept such a jangling of the bells, that he should never have left till he cast bells, steeple, church, and parish up again.

(II. i. 30-46)

Bullen discovered that some of the fishermen's very phrases also occur in two scenes of *Law-Tricks*:

*Joculo*. But, madam, do you remember what a multitude of fishes we saw at sea? and I do wonder how they can all live by one another.

*Emilia*. Why, fool, as men do on the land; the great ones eat up the little ones.

(I. ii, p. 15)

<sup>7</sup> An allegorical tract, first printed in Bullen's edition of Day.

*Adam.* I knew one of that faculty in one term eat up a whole town, church, steeple and all.

*Julio.* I wonder the bells rung not all in his belly.

(II. i., p. 26)

These remarkable parallels called for some explanation, and considering that *Law-Tricks* was first printed in 1608, the same year in which *Pericles* was entered in the Stationers' Register, Bullen decided that "Day must either have seen the MS of *Pericles*, or must have carried away the words in his memory from the playhouse". Since then, E. K. Chambers<sup>8</sup> has found grounds for dating *Law-Tricks* as early as 1604, that is several years before *Pericles*, but Chambers' dating in turn has been challenged<sup>9</sup>. Not much can therefore be inferred from the above parallel alone, though some writers have gone too far in dismissing it altogether. It has been stressed that the yarn echoed in the two passages is an old one,<sup>10</sup> but the proximity in wording surely suggests direct interdependence. What kind of interdependence, however, we are not as yet ready to decide. Even if *Law-Tricks* preceded *Pericles*, Shakespeare or any other possible author of II. i might have liked the two pieces in *Law-Tricks* enough to develop them in *Pericles*. The case would be altered, however, if it can be shown that other lines in the same scene are paralleled in Day.

Such echoes can in fact be found, as the following list indicates:

- (1) watry grave . . . finny subject of the sea . . . watry empire (*Per.* II. i. 10, 52-53)  
deceive the watry subjects (*Humour out of Breath* I. ii, p. 11)  
scorning land, water shall be my grave (*Parl. of Bees*, Char. VII, p. 49)

Fishes are nowhere else in Shakespeare referred to as "subjects", surely an important consideration.

- (2) Fortune . . . shipwreck . . . till then, rest your debtor . . . jewel (*Per.* II. i. 127-162)  
*Lisander.* . . . shipwreck . . . notwithstanding, Fortune hath reserv'd me one jewel which . . . means to work my admittance to the Duke, I should become a true debtor to your love. (*Ile of Gulls* I. iv, p. 23)

(*The Ile of Gulls* was printed in 1606, and thus definitely precedes *Pericles*. Not only are the same objects and thoughts closely associated in the two scenes, but Lisander's situation as well as intentions are akin to those of Pericles when he rediscovers his armor and plans to visit the court of Simonides. Lisander, like Pericles, was "cast . . . on this shore" by "wrathful Neptune". Occurring as close as it does to Bullen's parallel of the fish in the sea, it constitutes strong evidence for the belief that the author of II. i. of *Pericles* was very much under the influence of the language of Day's contemporary plays, if not more.)

The following parallels are less striking, but help to corroborate the evidence of the others in the same scene:

<sup>8</sup> *The Elizabethan Stage*, III, 285-286.

<sup>9</sup> See M. E. Borish, "John Day's *Law-Tricks* and George Wilkins", *MP*, XXXIV (1936-37), 249-266.

<sup>10</sup> See especially W. Parsons, "Lest Men, like Fishes. . .", *Traditio* III (1945), 380-388. The same passage is echoed less closely in Wilkins' *Miseries*: "these men, like fish, do swim within one stream Yet they'd eat one another".

- (3) Which my dead father did bequeath to me  
 With this strict charge . . . (*Per.* II. i. 131-132)  
 who on his death-bed made me his heir, with this charge, . . .  
 (*Ile of Gulls* II. i, p. 30)
- (4) I can compare our rich misers to nothing so fitly as to a whale  
 (*Per.* II. i. 32)  
 I can compare my lord and his friend to nothing in the world so fitly  
 as to a couple of water buckets . . . (*Ile of Gulls* II. iii, p. 40)

(Note that the two passages from Day are again from the early *Ile of Gulls*. However, the correspondence in the last parallel is not unique to the two plays, for compare Jonson, *Every Man In* III. i. 222: "I can compare him to nothing more happily than a drum". Incidentally, for his comic dialogue Day learned much from Jonson.)

To other echoes in II. i, still less weight is to be attached, for various reasons, but a few are worth while listing, considering the presence of more significant parallels. The metaphor of the "vast tennis-court" on which Pericles was made "the ball" for "the waters to play upon" (II. i. 59-61) was evidently one dear to Day, for it occurs at least three times in his plays:

- (1) You have courts for tennis (*Humor*, p. 7)
- (2) *Dametas*. Manasses, how dost like my play at Tennis?  
*Manasses*. You play well, Sir, but you lose still.  
*Dametas*. . . . Court. . . .  
*Manasses*. By the Tennis-court I think you have.  
 (*Ile of Gulls*, p. 14)
- (3) *Parsim*. Suppose all kingdoms in this world were balls,  
 And thou stood for a racket twixt four walls  
 To toss ad placitum: how wouldst thou play?  
*Acolastes*. Why, as with balls, bandy 'em all away;  
 They gone, play twice as many of the score.  
*Parsim*. A tennis-Court of Kings could do no more.  
 (*Parliament*, Char. VII, p. 47)

Yet it was a popular metaphor in the early seventeenth century, witness the titles of two lost plays, Dekker's *Fortune's Tennis* (1600) and Munday's *Set at Tennis* (1602). For the same reason, the similar style and thought in "we'll have flesh for holidays, fish for fasting-days, and moreo'er puddings and flap-jacks" (*Per.* II. i. 81-82), and "I go wide ope Wensdays, I never lace myself but on Sundays, and that for fear I should burst with eating of plum porridge" (*Ile of Gulls* II. iv, p. 51), may merely reflect common talk of the time, as evidenced by other similar passages in Jacobean drama; e.g. *Every Man In* III. ii. 175-218. That the word "a-land", which occurs twice in *Pericles* (II. i. 31 and III. ii. 69) but nowhere else in Shakespeare, is found no fewer than five times in Day's plays should be noteworthy; but again, this may be mere coincidence, since the word is also encountered in Twine's novel, one of the play's recognized major sources.

These facts make one wary of reading too much into verbal echoes or similarities in image or phrasing. Yet I believe that at least the first two parallels listed are remarkable, and that together with Bullen's, they make highly probable some close connection between the works of Day and the first scene of

Act II of *Pericles*—a connection which indeed suggests identical authorship.

No other scene in *Pericles* echoes Day in so many places as this one, but II. iii contains some sufficiently startling parallels to attract notice. When, after having so surprisingly won the tournament held in Thaisa's honor at Simonides' court, Pericles is asked by Thaisa to reveal his identity, he answers:

A Gentleman of Tyre; my name, Pericles;  
My education been in arts and arms;  
Who, looking for adventures in the world,  
Was by the rough seas reft of ships and men  
And after shipwreck driven upon this shore,

whereupon Thaisa passes this information on to her father:

He thanks your graces; names himself Pericles,  
A gentleman of Tyre,  
Who only by misfortune of the seas  
Bereft of ships and men, cast on this shore.

In *The Ile of Gulls*, Lisander dissembles his identity towards Dametas in a strikingly similar manner:

My mother is the queen of Amazons,  
Myself a virgin married unto arms,  
And bold achievements, who have pac'd the world  
In quest for fair Antiope, my sister;  
And turning homeward, the inconstant winds  
And wrathful Neptune cast me on this shore.<sup>11</sup>

A second fairly close echo to a passage in II. iii of *Pericles* strengthens my impression that Day took at least a part in its composition. Simonides' royal generosity and the banquet over which he presides bring to Pericles' mind times when his own family enjoyed better fortunes:

Yon king's to me like to my father's picture,  
Which tells me in that glory once he was;  
Had princes sit, *like stars*, about his throne,  
And he the *sun*, for them to reverence.  
None that beheld him but, *like lesser lights*,  
Did vail their crowns to his supremacy;  
Where now his son's *like a glow-worm* in the night,  
The which hath *fire* in darkness, none in light. (lines 36-43)

Compare the following passage from Day:

*we, like inferior lights,*  
Take life from your reflection, for *like stars*  
Unto the *sun* are counsellors to kings:  
He feeds their orbs with *fire*, and their shine  
Contend to make his glory more divine; (*Humour out of Breath* V. ii.)<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Ile of Gulls* I. iv, pp. 21-22.

<sup>12</sup> *Humour*, p. 70. The italics in the two quoted passages are mine. Note also the less obvious parallel in *Travels*, in a passage usually attributed to Wilkins:

Thus like the *sun* in his meridian pride  
Attended by a regiment of *stars*,  
Stand we triumphant 'mongst our petty kings.

(Cited by D. Sykes in *Sidelights on Shakespeare*, p. 171.)

and note, moreover, the same contrast between a glow-worm and a star, found nowhere else in Shakespeare, in this image from the *Ile of Gulls*:

her face differs as far  
From others, as a glow-worm from a star.<sup>13</sup>

These passages show an impressive correspondence not only in conception but also in wording, a correspondence whose significance is not nullified by the consideration that the compound image itself may have been conventional.

Of the parallels for the rest of the play, only two can be cited with any degree of conviction:

- (1) Drew sleep out of mine eyes, blood from my cheeks (*Per.* I. ii. 96)

The law shall fetch red water from his veins

That hath drawn blood from your eyes; (*Humour* III. i, p. 38)

'Tshall be to draw blood from detraction's vein

(*Parliament of Bees*, Commission, p. 8)

You'd draw fair ladies' hearts into their eyes (*Humour* I. iii, p. 17)

My fear dropt out of mine eyes in tears and fetch'd blood from my heart. . . . drew tears from thine eyes and blood from thy heart

(*Peregrinatio Scholastica*, pp. 75-76)

The linking of the words "draw . . . eyes . . . blood" suggests a habit of thought persisting through several of these passages.

- (2) worth all our mundane cost (*Per.* III. ii. 71)

awkward casualties (*Per.* V. i. 94)

mundane casualties (*Parl. of Bees*, Char. II, p. 22)

mundane felicity" (*ibid.*, Char. V, p. 33)

The noteworthy point here is that the use of "mundane" is unique in Shakespeare, while "casualties" is rarely used by him. On the other hand, the quotations from Day are taken from what may be his last play, for *Parliament of Bees* is sometimes dated as late as 1634. Yet it is not out of the range of possibility that a quarto of the play appeared as early as 1607, though no copy of it has survived.<sup>14</sup> Whatever one's decision as to the date of *Parliament*, the parallel is too insignificant to invite any far-reaching inference, and it would even be uncritical to make much of the parallel to *Pericles* I. ii, isolated as it is in that scene. If one therefore concludes that Day had a share in *Pericles*, such a position can be held with conviction only for II. i and II. iii.

#### IV

As has already been stated, no external evidence can be found which might give direct support for such a conclusion. Yet what we do know about Day's career and about the general character of his work does not go contrary to it in any way. The dates of Day's works fit well, for four of his six extant plays were first printed between 1606 and 1608. Day seems to have been writing mainly for the Children of the Revels, who performed at Blackfriars, and for the Children of Paul's during the first years of King James's reign. Neither company survived beyond 1608, when the Blackfriar's Theatre passed into the pos-

<sup>13</sup> *Ile of Gulls*, p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> Referred to in Gildon's abridgement of Langbaine, 1699; see Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, III, 287.

session of Shakespeare's company. We do not know what happened to Day then, for his name is not linked to a single play between 1608 and 1623. He must have had a precarious reputation among his fellow-dramatists, considering his fatal stabbing, though in self-defence, of Henry Porter in 1599, and Jonson's dislike of him. It is possible that he took orders.<sup>18</sup>

As for the character of his plays, it would be absurd to suggest any close kinship between them and *Pericles*. Some of them remind one rather of Shakespeare's early comedies, whose language is often imitated in them, or of Lyly or Dekker. They owe much to the themes and style of Elizabethan prose romance. Sparklingly witty at their best, Day's plays reflect a lightheartedness of spirit and a delicacy of imagination that distinguish them from most other writings of the period—including *Pericles* and Shakespeare's last plays. Yet we can find in them two or three features that have special relevance for this discussion. Day liked plots, suggested to him by one or other romance, of a more or less tragi-comic form. This is true of *Law-Tricks* and more pronouncedly of *Humour out of Breath*, both of which can be said to anticipate Shakespeare's last plays in one important feature. They present an action involving parents and children who are separated for some time, and who only after much suffering become reconciled and reunited. Though the action of *Humour out of Breath* is lighter than that of *Cymbeline* or *The Winter's Tale* and encompasses a much shorter period of time, it is like them a tragi-comedy of two generations. Its final scene presents the reconciliation of two arch-enemies, Octavio and Antonio, brought about by the love of their children.

Not unrelated to these scenes of reunion between parents and children, though not necessarily part of them, is the repeated echoing of the notion of birth and re-creation in Day's plays: "Many a good thing has been buried quick and survived again" (*Humour* III.ii, p. 52), "You new create me, and breathe a second life Into my dying bosom" (*Humour* V.ii, p. 71), "Life begot in death" (*Parl. of Bees*, Char. X, p. 63). The relevance of these passages to the beautiful lines,

Thou that begetst him that did thee beget,  
Thou that wast born at sea, buried at Tharsus,  
And found at sea again,

(*Per.* V.i. 197-199)

and to the scenes of reunion in Shakespeare's other Romances does not require further comment.

Structurally, the most striking resemblance to *Pericles* is afforded by *Travels* (1607). Like *Pericles* this play sets forth a sprawling action of epic dimension, which the playwrights managed to hold together only by the device of a chorus who acts as prologue and epilogue, and who several times supplies narrative links between scenes, somewhat like the chorus of *Dr. Faustus*. At some points, the resemblance between the Chorus of *Travels* and Gower in *Pericles* is indeed a close one. Yet, as was indicated earlier, other factors discourage one from making very much of this similarity. For the present purpose, it will suffice for us to know that Day had a share in a play which employs a device similar to that of Gower in *Pericles*.

<sup>18</sup> Chambers, III, 284-285.



While considering the general nature of the action of Day's plays, a brief glance at some of the titles of his lost plays will be appropriate. They include *The Conquest of Brute*, *The Seven Wise Masters*, *Cox of Collumpton*, *The Conquest of the West Indies*, and *The Unfortunate General*, among others.<sup>16</sup> To infer much from these and other titles of Day's lost plays would be absurd, but apart from their great variety of subject-matter, some romantic, some more realistic or historical, they indicate that between 1598 and 1603, Day must have collaborated with others in a number of plays dramatizing an action of immense size that tended, like *Pericles*, to be biographical, and that included considerable variety of incident, in some cases with an emphasis on misfortunes, again like *Pericles*. To say this is in itself very little, but is at least not disheartening.

These considerations of some of the larger structural features of Day's plays, though in themselves not contributing much direct evidence pointing to a link between Day and *Pericles*, have yet revealed sufficient points of contact for one to feel encouraged to give some weight to the evidence of textual parallels. For the kind of claim made here, no strong support from a comparison of form and structure was to be expected anyhow. If Day did contribute to the planning of the action of *Pericles*, he has not left his personal mark clearly. But he has left his mark, as I have tried to show, in the style of two scenes, II. i and II. iii. In these scenes, echoes to Day are varied and many. And their quantity as well as their multifariousness supports the general, if older, theory that *Pericles* is of composite authorship. For however much Elizabethan reporters of surreptitiously printed plays were prone to fall on their tenacious memories of the works of other playwrights, it is inconceivable that a reporter of *Pericles* should have echoed the work of Day in so many different ways, and so much more in two scenes than in other parts of the play. To say this does not, of course, rule out the likelihood that the quarto text as a whole, including the Day part, is a report. But if Day did write II. i and II. iii, it seems probable that there are other scenes in *Pericles*, particularly in the first two acts, that are not by Shakespeare. But who wrote them is not as yet known.

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<sup>16</sup> See the list of Day's lost and doubtful plays in Chambers, III, 288-289.

[illegible]

*stebens.*  
*Nesius*  
*steymon.* - *Quader* *der* *Ther*  
*Rivings.*

Cities and Towns and places

Byzantium.  
Pierianth.

5. *Scleros.*  
 6. *Adiposa.*  
 7. *Belizensis.*  
 8. *Chelonius* *perissus*.  
 9. *Spate for munda.*  
 10. *Kale. bound munda.*

*Thalysia perijata*.  
Thayer Island  
in upper Monterey in *S. chrysomph.*  
"Tinian Island in *S. hillebrandi*.

*Idrysa* *Antonia*; *Sistonia*. *Orestonia*.  
The names of these.

National propriety.

—almonies force a scholar to Pythagoras? I found them that thing  
buds did not do, as profit, and we expect to transfer in our  
brief history told them, the strangely mingled, and they  
long after I found no other way, and that was my only  
2. in time.


[illegible]

Author's plot. Two pages of the author's plot of an otherwise unknown play of about 1628, relating to Philander, King of Thrace. At left, notes on the topography, and beliefs and customs of Thrace; at right, the scenario of Acts I and II. Reproduced from Folger Shakespeare Library Ms. X. b. 206. See p. 116.

Reproduced from Folger Shakespeare Library Ms. X. b. 20f. See p. 116.

## The Old Man at Work: Forgeries in the Stationers' Registers

FRANKLIN DICKEY

HOUGH for some time scholars have privately suspected that the Stationers' Registers, like so many of the papers which passed through the hands of John Payne Collier, may have been tampered with, no one has compiled a list of specious entries. Perhaps it seemed better to those who knew most about the Registers not to cast doubt on them, since once started, suspicion dies hard, and as with all such matters, proof is likely to be difficult. Moreover, though Register A is neat enough, B and C are written in such a variety of hands and inks that it is hard on the evidence of handwriting alone to separate some few perfectly genuine contemporary additions from those made fraudulently many years later. Yet such a list is needed, since the forged entries are incorporated in Arber's monumental *Transcripts*, upon which all students must depend. Fortunately we possess other documents that permit us to compile such a list with much more certainty than one usually dares hope in such matters.

The most useful of these documents is the holograph transcript prepared by William Herbert for his edition of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* (1785-1790). The history of these almost completely neglected volumes is interesting. Although Herbert issued the prospectus of his edition of Ames in 1780, the first volume did not appear for five years. Originally planned as a simple reprint, Herbert's edition grew from two volumes to three as a result of the advice of friends, one of whom urged him to augment Ames's very incomplete bibliography by consulting the Stationers' Registers. Herbert therefore applied to Mr. Lockyer Davis and was duly granted permission by a resolution of the Court of Assistants held on 4 July 1780 to borrow the Registers one by one upon giving receipts for them. Precisely how long it took Herbert to complete his transcript we do not know, though he tells us that it "could not be made without a considerable delay of the press." From these transcripts Herbert chose what he wanted for his printed bibliography.<sup>1</sup>

Eventually the three volumes of the completed transcript were acquired by George Chalmers, at the sale of whose books in 1842 they were bought by the Stationers' Company. Sometime later, the transcript of Register C seems to have become mixed up with the books of C. R. Rivington, Clerk of the Company from 1869 to 1916, who contributed to the history in Arber's Volume V. Inadvertently sold at his death in 1928, the volume found its way into the shop of

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Cyprian Blagden for the record of the action of the Court. For Herbert's own account, see *Typographical Antiquities*, I (1785), iii.

a bookseller in Cambridge, England, who sold it to Professor William A. Jackson of the Houghton Library, Harvard. Professor Jackson's splendid generosity in restoring the volume to its place in the muniment room of Stationers' Hall has aided greatly in completing this check of the Registers.<sup>2</sup>

Our second source of evidence is supplied by Collier himself. It is one of the curious circumstances of Collier's career that he frequently calls attention to his own duplicity in so obvious a manner that one is left wondering whether he did not almost wish to be exposed. Certainly the ballads he composed on Shakespearean themes and on themes suggested by entries in the Registers gave him considerable pride. But this is not the place to explore the complex motives of a thwarted poet. Suffice it to say that by a study of Collier's remarks on the entries of books, we discover motives adequate to explain several of the fanciful additions to the Registers. And by studying the Collier forgeries preserved in English and American libraries, we can determine the unvarying characteristics of Collier's imitation of the secretary hand.

Collier's deductions from the Register entries appear in several places but principally in his two volumes of *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company* published in 1848 and 1849 for the Shakespeare Society, London, and in the continuation of these extracts in *Notes and Queries* from 1861 to 1863 which carries them to the end of Register B. These are supplemented by a sheaf of unarranged and incomplete excerpts in Folger Manuscript M. a. 229. Further scattered remarks occur throughout Collier's critical writings.

The ballads which afford so many useful clues to the characteristics of the forger's hand appear in Additional MS 32,380 and 32,381 in the British Museum and in Folger MS 2071.7. Additional MS 32,380 consists of a seventeenth-century transcript of the *Eikon Basilike*, to the blank versos and end-papers of which an italic hand has added a series of stirring ballads, some on Shakespearean themes, purportedly discovered by Collier and assuredly transcribed—inaccurately, it should be noted—by their author in Additional MS 32,381. The Folger manuscript contains the genuine commonplace book of Joseph Hall, to which in a secretary hand with many analogies to the italic hand in the Additional manuscript have been added 83 ballads, many based upon entries in the Stationers' Registers.<sup>3</sup>

Since Collier's death little has been written about these intriguing compositions. In 1884 when the sale of Collier's library brought the manuscripts to light, E. Maunde Thompson studied them and asserted that one hand, presumably Collier's, had forged both the ballads in the *Eikon* and the Hall Commonplace Book.<sup>4</sup> More recently T. J. Brown in *The Book Collector* (Spring, 1953) has given his reasons for considering the handwriting of the ballads in Additional MS 32,380 false. But the most useful ideas about the techniques of determining

<sup>2</sup> For the history of the vicissitudes of the transcript I am indebted to Mr. Blagden and Professor Jackson.

<sup>3</sup> Incidentally, several of Collier's ballads are, as their author modestly hoped, "not without literary merit". With no suspicion Norman Ault's discriminating *Elizabethan Lyrics* reprints "If ever I Marry I'll Marry a Maid" and "Love me Little, Love me Long" from Collier's Extracts. Both, of course, are Collier's own compositions and may be studied in the Hall manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> *The Academy*, XXVII (7 March 1885), 170. As early as 1876 C. M. Ingleby had argued on purely literary grounds that certain "Shakespearean" ballads in Additional MS 32,380 were Collier's inventions, though he denied access to the manuscript, then still in Collier's possession. Cf. *The Academy*, IX (April 1876), 313.

forgeries appear in an article by Giles Dawson of the Folger Library.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Dawson not only argues the dangers of relying solely on the frequently conflicting testimony of handwriting experts, but also produces cogent circumstantial evidence that the ballads added to the Hall Commonplace Book are Collier's own. Dr. Dawson's work was interrupted by the war, but he has since discovered proof of Collier's hand in the forgeries, the detailed analysis of which he plans to publish soon. Hence it will not be necessary to spend much time on Collier's hand, or rather hands, here. The case against him does not rest upon handwriting alone, though an examination of it substantiates the other evidence.<sup>6</sup>

Indeed, Collier's own disingenuous remark that the note "By T. Watson" beneath the entry of the *Tears of Fancy* (11 August 1593) looked like "an afterthought" sent me down to Stationers' Hall, where through the courtesy of Cyprian Blagden I was able to examine the original. The ascription did look like an afterthought: the hand is shaky and shows all the signs of a painstaking imitation of Elizabethan secretary. Positive proof that it was false was provided when Mr. Blagden opened the Herbert transcript. Within a few minutes other forgeries appeared, all in the same hand. Ultimately after combing Collier's various productions for hints, I returned to make a page-for-page check of the Registers against Arber's and Herbert's transcripts and Collier's printed *Extracts*. After several visits it was possible to collate the book entries as completely as the documents permitted. All told, eighteen demonstrable alterations of the text and one doubtful case—#4 on the list below—emerged.<sup>7</sup>

Collier began his study of the Registers in 1847. On 7 December of that year the Court of Assistants ordered, "That Mr. J. Payne Collier and Mr. Halliwell be respectively permitted to inspect the Registers of Copies in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James 1st." This curious order, when access to the Registers was not lightly given, explains how Collier, working alone and with no witness by, had the opportunity of adding to the text. About Halliwell's examination of the Registers, I can hazard no guess, save that since he turned one of Collier's most indignant critics when other forgeries were discovered, he could have found nothing suspicious at Stationers' Hall. How long Collier continued to work, it is impossible to say with complete certainty. He offered in the last of his extracts in *Notes and Queries* for 1863 to complete the series with selections from Register C, but if he ever made more than the few jottings now in Folger MS M.a.229, I do not know of them. The date, 26 August 1861, written next to the entry for 13 April 1589 in this manuscript suggests that the entries in *Notes and Queries* were extracted as late as this.

<sup>5</sup> "Authenticity and Attribution of Written Matter", *The English Institute Annual* for 1942 (1943), pp. 77-100.

<sup>6</sup> To avoid injustice I have studied the hands in Additional MSS 32,380 and 32,381 as well as the Collier papers in Additional MS 32,382. At the Folger Library I have examined the Hall Commonplace Book, the Extracts from the Stationers' Registers in MS M.a.229, the "autobiography" in MS M.a.230, the miscellaneous poems and anecdotes at the back of various volumes of *Notes and Queries*, the descriptions of rare books in MSS M.a.211-213 and Y.d.7, the forged ballad "The foolies of the Citie" penned in a copy of STC 11049. At the Huntington Library I have examined the manuscript annotations of the famous Perkins copy of the Shakespeare Second Folio and miscellaneous fabrications among the Ellesmere papers. I am convinced that the forgeries in the Registers are Collier's, partly on the evidence of handwriting, but the default of any other candidate for the honor is independently damning.

<sup>7</sup> I wish to take the opportunity of thanking Mr. Blagden for the help he has given me, the Stationers' Company for their very great kindness, and Mr. Mettrep, the Beadle, for his patience.

The Herbert transcript fills three vellum-bound volumes corresponding roughly to Registers A, B, and C. They are written in brown and annotated in red ink so that it is immediately possible to distinguish the text from additions like the starred initials "G. S." with which George Steevens ornamented Shakespearean entries in the Registers. Since Arber properly enough disregarded these, let me add that they were never meant to deceive: Steevens carefully dates the first of them, on f. 193 of Register B, 1774.

Whatever pressure Herbert may have felt while the press waited for him to complete his work, the transcript is reliable within its limitations. To save time, Herbert made an elaborate code of abbreviations for the introductory formulae of the entries and used it consistently. Occasionally he transposes or omits whole entries. But whatever he does record he sets down with considerable though not absolute accuracy, his infrequent slips being caused by ignorance or by misreading, faults of which Arber is not entirely free.<sup>8</sup> There are possibly a few more errors in the transcript of the neat and regular Register A than in that of the much more demanding Register B. After the year 1600, the terminal date for Ames, Herbert's interest lags, until for roughly the last 125 folios of Book C he provides only selective entries which suggest a concern with religion and politics rather than literature.<sup>9</sup>

Luckily, there is no evidence whatever of forgery among the entries of Book A, which I have compared page for page with Herbert. Nor is there any evidence of forgery in Book C. The staying entry of 4 August 1600 for three of Shakespeare's and one of Jonson's plays is carefully recorded in Herbert as are the notices of the burning of banned books recorded at the end of Register C, folios 316-317. Where Herbert's transcript became selective, I examined every page containing book entries but found nothing irregular. Despite many chances for a clever and interested forger to supply additions—the blanks left for initials, the general untidiness of the manuscript, etc.—the opportunities are all wasted. Book B alone has suffered.

One explanation for this peculiarity occurs immediately. Register A is written in a single monotonously neat, bold hand which offers little chance for forgery. Why Register C escaped is not so easy to answer. Perhaps Collier never got around to transcribing it. Certainly by 1863 his reputation had been devastatingly attacked by Halliwell, Dyce, C. M. Ingleby, and N. E. S. A. Hamilton, among others—though this does not seem to have daunted Collier, who still had his supporters. When in 1863 Collier expressed himself willing to continue his extracts in *Notes and Queries* if further interest were shown, perhaps none was. We can only guess.

Certain general characteristics of the forgeries are immediately apparent. All seem to have been intended to identify authors. Since, however, some appear in the left margin where the name of the stationer who published the book

<sup>8</sup> Arber's occasional errors can best be illustrated by these examples: Register B, f. 286, the entry for *Arden of Feversham*. Arber's "blackwall" should read "blackwill". The Clerk who made the entry made undotted *i's* throughout. On f. 297 verso, the last item on the page should read "pueriles Scientencie" instead of "Scripturae". In Register C, the last entry on f. 33 should read "Andreas", not "Androes". On f. 44, the first entry, item six, should read "Boccace" instead of "Beware". On f. 54, the last entry should read "Seuille", not "Grenille".

<sup>9</sup> Mr. John Crow has called my attention to the Huntington Library's copy of Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of . . . Divinitie* (1595) with annotations by Herbert. Hence, perhaps, the selectivity of his transcript of Register C which covers the years after Maunsell.



ordinarily appears, the unwary might suppose publishers to have been meant. All but two of those in the left margin are immediately recognizable from their common slant upward from left to right. Other ascriptions call attention to themselves in that they are squeezed in beneath the entry on the left of the column in a hand much smaller than that of the rest of the entry. A third group are clumsily inserted in the space left by the scribe between the end of the entry and the record of payment for registry.

The intention of the Clerk of the Company and the set form in which copy is entered explain the peculiar position of all the forged additions. The Registers are essentially business, not literary, documents. Their intention is to provide a record of copyright, a legal record in which ambiguities will be at a minimum. They are also a record of payment for entry. In order to forestall tampering, the Clerk concluded each entry with a vertical bracket from the end of the last word on the first line of the entry down to the last line. He then filled the space between the end of this line and the bracket with a flourish and a line, as we now do in writing a check, and for the same reason. These characteristics can be seen in all the entries. Nothing can be added between the end of the line and the bracket. Hence any alteration must be made either by striking out part of the original entry, or by writing in the margin, by writing beneath the entry, or by writing above the Clerk's blocking line at the end of the entry. Not all the insertions made in these positions are forgeries, but all the forgeries—save one from which a letter has been scraped away—are in these positions. With one possible exception, no genuine ascription of authorship appears in any of these positions.

To particularize, let us look first at entries in the margins. With the exception just noted, these concern ownership of copy or matters of printing. Typical notes in either margin include such formulae as "sub manu guardianorum", "not printed", "assigned to—", "fined for printing this before he had lycence". Occasionally a title will be given or corrected in the margin: "This booke is intituled the Labyrinth of Liberty", or "This book is sett foorth in print w<sup>th</sup> this title. The patterne of peynfull aduentures". The single exception is the notation "p[er] Elderton" in the left margin of f. 168 in Register B beside the entry on 25 April 1580 of a ballad to Richard Jones. Since the marginal note is recorded by Herbert and since the hand is like that of the rest of the entry, we may accept it as genuine. But since it is unique among the unquestionable entries in Register B, we ought perhaps to ask whether it really pertains to authorship or whether Elderton might not have had something to do with entering copy.<sup>10</sup>

The situation is even clearer when we look for ascriptions of authorship inserted above the Clerk's concluding stroke or fitted in beneath the entry or interlined above a cancelled passage. Herbert records none. Those that do exist bear certain characteristics in common which make the conclusion inescapable that they are by one hand. It is unfortunate that Arber regularized these entries in his transcript or their peculiarities might have called attention to themselves sooner.

It is hardly surprising that Arber was deceived. There is nothing improbable

<sup>10</sup> There are two more entries beside which Elderton's name has been inserted, but since neither of these is in Herbert, they are included in the list at the end of this paper.

about the handwriting itself. By 1848 when the first volume of *Extracts* appeared Collier had practised long enough to be able to write fluently both in secretary and in mixed hands, so that although forgeries are classically described as "halting", Collier's show few signs of this supposed stiffness. If some of the Register forgeries do appear halting, it is likely that the quality of the paper and lack of space had more to do with this than either the author's inexperience or lack of confidence. Moreover, though certain letters in the forged entries call attention to themselves, and indeed make it possible to identify the hand as Collier's, these letters can be duplicated among genuine Elizabethan hands. The purely calligraphic qualities which identify the forgeries for a suspicious investigator—which the generous Arber was not—are their unmistakable similarities to each other and to letters in Collier's other forgeries. However Collier shifted, his basically regular and rather neat hand, marked by the consistent ratio between verticals and horizontals, can be recognized in the Register.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the peculiarly placed ascriptions share a yellowish brown ink probably made according to an old formula. There are such recipes, though I have not seen them, among Collier's miscellaneous papers in the Folger Library.<sup>12</sup> Certain letters stand out. The curly capital *L* of the *Eikon* forgeries reappears in the addition to the Register. The *N* and *A* of the *Eikon* ballads, also occasionally used in the Hall manuscript, are like those in the suspected entries in the Register and recur in the pencilled notations slanting in the left margin of Collier's manuscript extracts from the Registers (Folger MS M.a.229). The *N* may also be noted in the manuscript corrections of the Perkins folio in the Huntington Library. The *B* and *T* of the Register additions, though, orthodox, were penned by the same hand that composed the ballads in the Hall manuscript and annotated the Perkins folio. The small *h* and *y*, though perfectly formed, are consistent in all the Collier forgeries of secretary hand that I have examined. All the additions to the Register save one are in a hand smaller than that of the entry they accompany. Some appear cramped and traditionally "halting".

The following list attempts to include all suspicious additions among the book-entries. Some, like the "Watson" entry already mentioned, are of literary importance, for it is largely on the grounds of the Register that the *Tears* are assigned to Watson rather than to some other "T. W."—whose initials are printed on the last page of the book. Others merely confirm what we already know, like the "B. Barnes" beneath the entry of *Parthenophil and Parthenophe*. None, needless to say, appears in Herbert's transcript. All are in Register B and can be located in Arber's Volume II by the folio number at the top of the page. The falsifications, spelled as they stand, appear in parentheses after the short-title note of the entry in modern spelling. By "margin" the left margin is meant.

1. f. 165: 23 December 1579, Ed. White. *An epitaph of the lady Anne Lodge*. (by T. Lodge)—is squeezed in under the left in a hand much smaller and a yellow-

<sup>11</sup> I am grateful to Giles Dawson for discussing the Collier documents with me. Thanks to his patient scepticism, I am no longer convinced that Collier was unskilful at imitating sixteenth- and seventeenth-century handwriting. The great E. Maunde Thompson found that the *Eikon Basilike* and Hall Manuscript forgeries showed nineteenth-century traits. Unfortunately he did not give his reasons.

<sup>12</sup> Again I am indebted to Mr. John Crow.

brown ink much darker than that of the entry proper. The *T* is peculiar and may been seen inmistakably in #12, #13, and #19 below. Collier in *Extracts* II(1849), 104, calls attention to the fact that the name was added in a later hand and suggests that the poet was related to Sir Thomas Lodge, Lord Mayor in 1563.

2. f. 179: 20 March 1581, Ed. White. *A ballad entitled youth seeing all his ways so troublesome . . . recalleth his former follies*. (By Greene)—squeezed in above the line, between the end of the entry and the notation of payment, in a small, cramped, shaky hand, the *B* and *y* of which appear in #14 and #15 below. Collier, *Extracts* II(1849), 140, notes that it is "interlined, as if the fact of authorship had been ascertained after the entry was made", and having argued that Robert Greene wrote it, concludes that "Some other author of the name of Greene may however be intended." This devious observation is typical of his methods. Cf. the intricate groundwork he lays for the forged Shakespearian ballad described in *Farther Particulars*.

3. f. 179: 15 April 1581, Rd. Jones. *The nursery of gentlewomen's names*. (Warren)—written in the margin in a hand smaller than that of the entry. It does not slant like the more flamboyant examples. I can see no point to the addition.

4. f. 181 verso: 4 July 1581, Rd. Jones. *A ballad of Tyburn tiding*. The "Elderton" in the margin is doubtful, though if a forgery it is by far the best of the lot. It is larger and more boldly written than the others. Since as we have seen the "p[er] Elderton" in the margin of f. 168 is genuine, this may be, too. The hand is very different from that of f. 168 but precisely like that of #6 below. Collier's remark in *Extracts* II(1849), 146, that he is the first to have noticed the entry does not inspire trust; unhappily, it proves nothing, either, since he said the same thing about the genuine ascription earlier.

5. f. 185 verso: 11 January 1581, Rd. Jones. *Heptameron*. (Mr. Whetston)—slants in the margin in a very small hand. Collier gives no clues as to motive.

6. f. 191 verso: 16 November 1582, Rd. Jones. *York, York for my money*. (Elderton)—slants in the margin in precisely the same hand as #4 but is less confidently written. It looks suspiciously like an overscrupulous imitation of #4—as if the forger had slipped aside ten folios to keep the earlier entry in view while he wrote.

7. f. 198 verso: 22 January 1583/4, H. Denham. *A handfull of wholesome herbs*. (by breton)—entered above the Clerk's blocking line in a smaller hand and darker ink from that of the entry. Collier, *Extracts* II(1849), 185, offers a typical explanation: "there must either be a mistake in the entry, or Nicholas Breton had something to do with the composition of this book . . . and 'by Britton' having been interlined, shows that it was an afterthought, when the clerk had perhaps learned that he was the real author." It may be said confidently that Collier's interest in authorship was much keener than the Clerk's. The difference in Collier's spelling and that of the Register does not signify innocence: his transcripts of his own ballads are extraordinarily unreliable.

8. f. 198 verso: 6 April 1583, T. Cadman. *Sappho*. (Lyllye)—slants in the margin. Greg's *Printed Drama* labels it as a later hand but charitably refrains from remarking how late. Collier, *Extracts* II(1849), 185, chides his predecessors for missing the ascription: "If the Register had been looked at", he writes, "there never could have been any doubt on [the authorship], for in the margin the name of

'Lyllye' is distinctly written, though in a hand different from the body of the memorandum."

9. f. 204: 27 June 1584, H. Jackson. *The praise of nothing*. Originally the entry read "by Edward Da." and thus it appears both in Herbert's transcript and in *Typographical Antiquities*. This is one of the more pernicious frauds. Collier reprinted the pamphlet as Dyer's and seems to have scratched the *a* from the entry to make his claim plausible. There is almost a hole in the paper where the letter stood. Characteristically, Collier crows over Herbert for transcribing inaccurately. Mr. Ralph M. Sargent in *The Library*, 4th ser., no. 12 (1931-2), argued on literary grounds that Daunce was the true author. The restoration of the original entry supports him.

10. f. 233: 19 September 1588, Mr. Hacket. *The anatomy of absurdities*. (Nashe)—in yellow-brown ink darker than that of the entry slants slightly upwards in the margin. Not only is the *N* familiar, but the peculiar *h* reappears in #11, #13, and #18.

11. f. 235 verso: 28 October 1588, Rd. Jones. *Pageant borne before the Lord Mayor*. (geo. Peele the Auctor)—squeezed in under the entry at the left in the same hand as #10, #13, and #18. "Auctor" is written across the descender of "of" from the line above so that the *t* requires careful scrutiny to be seen. Greg's *Printed Drama* labels this an insertion but refrains from calling it forged. In *N&Q*, 2nd ser., XII (1861), 143, Collier helpfully calls attention to the fact that the ascription was added later than the entry. Cf. the formula of #18.

12. f. 248 verso: 22 September 1589, Rd. Jones. *Glaucus and Scylla*. (T. Lodge)—slants upward in the margin in the same hand as that of #1, #13, and #19—hence of #10, etc. Collier supplies this odd comment in *N&Q*, 2nd ser., XII (1861), 361: "The name of T. Lodge, the author, was inserted, very unprecedentedly, in the margin by the clerk." Since #3, #4, #5, #6, and #10 are in the margin it is difficult to see why this is "unprecedented". Could this have been the first of the modern additions and hence "unprecedented?"

13. f. 252: 22 December 1589, J. Wolf. *A mirror for Martinists* (Nashe yt is saide)—slants upward in the margin in the same hand as #10, etc. The similarity is obvious and unmistakable.

14. f. 298: 10 May 1593, J. Wolf. *Parthenophil and Parthenophe*. (By B. Barnes)—squeezed beneath the entry at the left in yellowish brown ink, paler and in a smaller hand than that of the rest of the entry, closely resembles #15. Collier, *N&Q*, 3d ser., I (1862), tells us that he had planned to reprint the Duke of Devonshire's unique copy but was forestalled by the death of his Grace.

15. f. 300: 11 August 1593, J. Danter. *The tears of fancy*. (By T. Watson)—inserted at the left beneath the entry in the same hand as #14. Collier describes it as an "afterthought" in *N&Q*, 3d ser., I (1862), 402. In his *Bibliographical Account* (1866), IV, 220-224, of the American edition, Collier does not know who the author is, but since this work was printed from unreviewed notes of over thirty years' reading, the omission should not surprise.

16. f. 301: 8 October 1593, J. Jackson. *The phoenix nest*. (Compiled by R S)—fitted in beneath the entry in a tiny hand in yellow-brown ink paler than the entry,

with what motive I cannot imagine save that Collier reprinted this work and might have wished to decorate it with hitherto undiscovered information.

17. f. 302: 25 October 1593, Th. Creede. Since Arber takes no notice either of the strike-over or insertion above it—also struck-over—I transcribe the entry as it appears in the Register:

by E. Spenser

Entred for his copie vnder thande of bothe the wardens a memoriall ~~or epitaph~~ of the life and deathe of the right honorable and renowned warrio<sup>r</sup> the valiant lorde Graye of Wilton deceased

The words struck from the line can be read only with perseverance, and Herbert omits them. The "by E. Spenser" above the line is very plain and should certainly have caught Herbert's attention had it been there when he transcribed the entry. Collier makes considerable fuss about this in his edition of Spenser's *Works* (1862), I, civ:

it is not at all impossible, nor indeed improbable, that Spenser, out of gratitude to his patron and benefactor, may have penned something of the kind; and it requires to be mentioned that, after "memoriall," in the above extract, the words "by E. Spenser" were interlined, were afterwards struck out with a pen, but are still legible. Ponsonby, after the first, had been Spenser's publisher, and he made, or caused to be made, all the late entries of his works at Stationers' Hall; and we do not believe that the above memorandum ever properly applied to our poet or to anything he had written. All it clearly shows is that, at the time the entry was inserted by Thomas Creede, there existed a notion that Spenser had written, or an expectation that he would write, something upon an event that, though he was then resident in Ireland, must have produced in him a strong feeling of regret. The intention might be that of some inferior poet to avail himself of Spenser's popularity, and of the general belief that his sense of obligation would induce him to commemorate the acts and virtues of Lord Grey.

I print this farrago only because it reveals so clearly the peculiar intricacy of Collier's mind. Needless to say, the Clerk is not likely to have had any notions whatsoever of Spenser's obligations. The hand in which the insertion was made is small, uncertain, and unlike that of the rest of the entry.

18. f. 304 verso: 16 March 1593/4, J. Danter. *The number of novelties*. (A. M. authore)—in the same hand as #13, etc., slants violently in the margin and shows the A typical of Additional MS 32,380. Collier strangely omits the phrase from both the printed extracts in *N&Q*, 3d ser., II(1863), and from his manuscript transcript.

19. f. 305 verso: 22 March 1594, A. Jeffes. *Ballad . . . of an English merchant*, etc. (By T. Deloney)—squeezed in above the concluding stroke by the same hand that executed #10, etc. In *N&Q*, 3d ser., II(1863), 27, Collier transcribes the name "Daloney", but see note on #7 above.

It is hoped that this list will make it possible to purge Arber's heroic work of faults for which he can scarcely be held responsible. It is also hoped that this list will prove interesting to those who, like me, have fallen under the spell of J. Payne Collier.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> This investigation was made possible by the generosity of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, to the Trustees of which I wish to express my gratitude.

### *The witty Faire one.*

*Fow.* You are happy Sir, in being deceiv'd, he is a noble Gentleman.

*Wor.* Sir *Nicholas* has releast her,  
Let your consent be free then.

*Geo.* You have wonne it  
Be my lov'd children, and I with a ioy  
Flow in all Bosomes. *Brains* we are reconcil'd.

*Nic.* Tutor we pardon.

*Vio.* You may Sir, he was my engine, now,  
What sayes my factious servant, nay, wee're friends.  
The greatest Politician may bee  
Deceiv'd sometimes, wit without braines yee see.

*Bra.* And braines without wit too.

*Fowl.* *Frauck* thou art married, and Sir *Nicholas* has  
made a Lady, I ha liv'd loose a great while, and doe purpose  
to be made fast to this Gentlewoman. *Exeunt.*

FfNfS.

This Play, called **THE WITTY FAIRE ONE**,  
as it was Acted on the Stage, may be Printed, this  
14. of January. 1632.

**HENRY HERBERT.**

Printed license to print, signed by Sir Henry Herbert, Master  
of the Revels, at end of James Shirley's *The Witty Faire One*  
(Q. 1633; STC 22462). See page 116.



# Disguise in *King Lear*: Kent and Edgar

HUGH MACLEAN



NE curious aspect of Kent's behavior in *King Lear* has not been much discussed. Exiled by Lear, Kent assumes disguise to serve the master who has banished him. He retains that disguise, however, beyond the point where it would appear to be necessary; and Shakespeare seems almost to call attention to this fact towards the end of Act IV.

Cor. Be better suited.  
These weeds are memories of those worse hours.  
I prithee put them off.

Kent. Pardon, dear madam.  
Yet to be known shortens my made intent.  
My boon I make it that you know me not  
Till time and I think meet.

(IV. vii. 6-11)

"Disguise" in the Elizabethan drama is defined by Miss Bradbrook to mean

the substitution, overlaying or metamorphosis of dramatic identity, whereby one character sustains two roles. This may involve deliberate or involuntary masquerade, mistaken or concealed identity, madness or possession.<sup>1</sup>

She goes on to speak of Kent and Edgar, who illustrate Shakespeare's use of "an old tradition, that of the disguised protector." J. F. Danby elaborates this theme: "Edgar's disguises are... protective colouring", required of the good man who "trusts to patience, and that process of providence or time which he calls 'ripeness'", and who will at length reveal himself and "overcome the machiavel".<sup>2</sup> Danby speaks of "the average man's hastiness" marking the character of Kent, but otherwise he does not have much to say of Kent's part in *King Lear*. This paper suggests that while both Edgar and Kent are, in broad terms, "of the Lear party", they represent two ways of life, one a model, the other an imperfect imitation; and that the actions of these two characters, particularly their uses of disguise, are designed to stress that contrast.

The universal quality of the play has challenged critics to attempt a definition of its theme, the issue which "keeps the attention so strongly fixed; which so much agitates our passions and interests our curiosity".<sup>3</sup> Bradley, impressed with "a consciousness of greatness in pain, and of solemnity in the mystery we cannot fathom", concludes that, "whether Shakespeare knew it or not", the "indictment of prosperity" is a theme present throughout the play, and

<sup>1</sup> M. C. Bradbrook, "Shakespeare and the Use of Disguise in Elizabethan Drama", *Essays in Criticism*, II (1952), 159-168.

<sup>2</sup> J. F. Danby, *Shakespeare's Doctrine of Nature: A Study of King Lear* (London, 1949), p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> *Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. Walter Raleigh (London, 1946), p. 159.

that "the only real thing" in a world containing heavenly good and monstrous evil is the patient and devoted soul.<sup>4</sup> In spite of the tragic events in the world of *King Lear*, life has meaning in terms of a more final reality than the natural world can encompass. A recent view somewhat extends this position to suggest that by and through the tragic sequence of events, "the value of human life is vindicated, triumphantly and securely".<sup>5</sup> The play becomes an assertion of a broad Christian humanism, achieving

a harmony or synthesis, a transformation and refinement, of natural human ethics through the triumphant emergence of a supremely Christian value, the value of the new law of human love which takes precedence of the old law of justice.<sup>6</sup>

If it may be granted that readings such as these penetrate to the meaning of *King Lear* more deeply than one which cannot be reconciled to the death of Cordelia,<sup>7</sup> the question then arises: does any character in the play illustrate, by his actions, the appropriate path through a dangerous world?

Evidently the way of Goneril and Regan is out of the question: theirs is a "nature which contemns its origin", vile, degenerate, and deformed (IV. ii. 38-67). At the other extreme, Cordelia's way seems, for different reasons, equally inimitable. Bradley calls her "a thing enskyed and sainted", and remarks that "the reader refuses to admit into [the memory of Cordelia] any idea of imperfection" (p. 317). For Danby, Cordelia embodies (at IV. iii. 15-34) a perfect balance of natural forces, beyond men's ability to imitate. Only the bond with Lear constrains her capacity to stand free of the whirlwind of events:

For thee, oppressed king, am I cast down;  
Myself could else outfrown false Fortune's frown.

(V. iii. 5-6)

If Goneril and Regan are all seeming, Cordelia is all being; her absolute lack of pretense is matched by their lack of anything else. Lear, living in a world of pretense, is blind to it: his tragedy unfolds in consequence. The person best fitted to move through this "tough world" will, hypothetically, combine something from each of these: he will keep faith in a real purpose working through nature's medium, yet beyond its hampering limits; he will recognize the need, from time to time, to conceal his true character from the "wolvish visage" of nature turned monstrous; and he will vindicate himself and his purposes by direct action at the proper time. There is, in fact, one character who satisfies these conditions: Edgar alone is able to combine knowledge and action with the judicious use of disguise. But his capacity is fully revealed only in terms of contrast with Kent.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1932), pp. 279, 326; and see 326-27.

<sup>5</sup> H. S. Wilson, *On the Design of Shakespearean Tragedy* (Toronto, 1957), p. 206.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson, 216-217.

<sup>7</sup> Johnson on *Shakespeare*, p. 161.

<sup>8</sup> Admittedly, Kent's horizons are necessarily more circumscribed than those of Edgar; yet, given their respective roles, Edgar uses his disguise properly, Kent does not. It is not my intention to impose on the actions of Kent and Edgar a pattern that must stand or fall in terms of plot or character applied in a rigorous way. Rather, this note suggests an interpretation of those actions in the spirit of Bradley's judgment of the play: "*King Lear* possesses purely dramatic qualities which far outweigh its defects . . . [and] its greatness consists partly in imaginative effects of a wider kind" (Bradley, p. 261). See also Wilson, p. 183.

Three figures survive at the conclusion of the play: Edgar, Kent, and Albany. Albany is evidently a special case. It is possible to see his role as one of progressive comprehension; but such a view runs the risk of assigning him a more significant part than the play in fact allows him. He is an essentially passive figure, rather than one who acts on his own initiative. The reactions of Albany reflect, at various stages, the forces dominant in the *Lear*-world. Thus, in Act I he is altogether weak, and "ignorant" too (I. iv. 295-296); by Act IV he is able to identify Goneril as a "changed and self-cover'd thing" (IV. ii. 62); at the end he is justicer and commentator, in accord with Shakespeare's regular practice. But even in the final scene, he lacks something of Edgar's calm command.<sup>9</sup> And a more vital difference separates him from both Edgar and Kent: while he comes to see that the "woman's shape" of Goneril conceals "a fiend" (IV. ii. 66-67), he has not himself been required to assume disguise at any point in the action. Whatever the quality of his knowledge or of his capacity for action, Albany knows nothing, in a practical sense, of "seeming".

Only Kent and Edgar consistently employ disguise, and their actions invite comparison: the purposes for which each assumes disguise, the use each makes of it, and the results achieved by each man are significantly in contrast. Edgar's purposes, to begin with, are relatively clear. He disguises, initially, "to preserve" himself (II. iii. 6), and, given time, to restore his position. Self-preservation is a prerequisite to a second and more active purpose which disguise makes possible: "...to prevent the fiend and kill vermin" (III. iv. 164). To assert his right is important in itself; more so because success means the vindication of ordered honor and piety at the expense of strength, place, and treachery, as the terms of his challenge in the last Act show. These purposes are not all at once announced, to be sure; rather, they emerge coincidentally with the development of Edgar from "straw man" to hero. But they are consistent one with another, and together form an ordered pattern. Kent, on the other hand, is from the first a little vague.

If but as well I other accents borrow,  
That can my speech defuse, my good intent  
May carry through itself to that full issue  
For which I raz'd my likeness.

(I. iv. 1-4)

"That full issue" is never precisely defined in the play; but it presumably involves two things for Kent: service to his master (to judge by his subsequent actions), and an active concern for Lear's safety (in the light of I. i. 159). It may also be that he expects to further in this way an eventual recovery of position and respect (if not altogether of power) by Lear; the events of later Acts make some such hypothesis not unreasonable, although Kent nowhere states just this to be his intention. Subsequently, in any event, Kent neither reiterates his purpose nor develops its implications; he refers more than once to some mysterious "intent", but never clears that matter up. Again, Edgar's purpose is necessarily energetic and "creative": he must bring order out of chaos. Kent devotes himself primarily to shoring up a ruin. Still, Kent's intentions, con-

<sup>9</sup> See V. iii. 236, 247. References to the text of *King Lear* are to the *Complete Works*, ed. G. L. Kittredge (Boston, 1936).

sidered in isolation, are, no less than Edgar's, "good" intentions. The hints of difference they provide must be confirmed by the clear contrast between each character's use of his disguise.

Properly, the play seems to show, man first endures time by the use of disguise; then he "uses" time by abandoning disguise for action. It is true that the disguised Edgar carries out a continuous plan of action; yet his role, while disguised, is essentially that of the man who holds a waiting brief. Once disguised, the individual must guard against three temptations. He must not leave everything to time, but must actively intervene at the proper moment; he must not allow himself to be led astray by his emotions, and throw off his disguise too soon; and he must not become so fascinated by the game of disguising that, missing the moment for action, he will retain the disguise beyond the point at which it ceases to be necessary. Kent illustrates all these mistakes; Edgar none, for his is the way appropriate for men alert to the demands of a difficult world.

Edgar's comments show that he understands the need to use his disguise, for some time, to "wait out" the passing of time, and then, at the right instant, to strike, and so gain his ends. Albany is to see Goneril's letter "in the mature time" (IV. vi. 282); Edgar himself will appear "when time shall serve" (V. i. 48). Wise patience alone, however, is not enough. "An 'chud ha' bin zwagger'd out of my life, 'twould not ha' bin zo long as 'tis by a vortnight" (IV. vi. 243-245). Time demanded action then: the assumption of disguise to preserve oneself. In due course, time demands action again: the abandonment of disguise, to "kill vermin". Only after the second, completing action may earlier tentatives ("Think that the clearest gods . . . have preserv'd thee"; "Pray that the right may thrive") take declarative form:

The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices  
Make instruments to scourge us.

(V. iii. 170-171)

Apart from the fact that, by disguising, Kent is better able than before to cope with events, he has little in common with active Edgar. He is all too willing to depend exclusively on time. His apostrophe to Fortune (II. ii. 180) is not obviously alarming in this connection; and the rejection of Cordelia's appeal to unmask (IV. vii. 8-11) even seems reassuring, for its phrasing suggests that Kent (in Edgar's fashion) recognizes the need to supplement time with one's own acts. The conclusion of the same scene, however, finds Kent in fact still entirely reliant on the passage of time, and on the events it will bring:

My point and period will be thoroughly wrought,  
Or well or ill, as this day's battle's fought.<sup>10</sup>

(IV. vii. 95-96)

Another kind of contrast turns on the different "natures" of Kent and Edgar. Both are marked by "honesty", and their enemies recognize this; but, as Edmund says, Edgar's is a "nature . . . far from doing harms", while Corn-

<sup>10</sup> In one sense, the sense that Kent has in mind, the battle does not decide his "point and period" at all; at the same time, in ways he does not foresee, it does exactly that, since the command for Cordelia's death given by a temporarily victorious Edmund may well be said to hasten the death of Lear.

wall describes Kent as "an honest mind and plain". Edgar's nature is especially receptive to pity: and pity for others, on two occasions (III. vi. 63-64; IV. i. 52-54), nearly undermines his plan. But he manages to resist these temptations to abandon disguise, just as he recovers from the momentary lapse (in IV. i) into a false sense of security. Kent, for his part, quickly forgets himself in the encounter with Oswald: plain language leads to the stocks. Kent does not actually throw off his disguise; yet his reckless speech and actions show that the man "too old to learn" has not sufficiently adjusted himself to the conditions of disguise. He himself acknowledges this: "Having more man than wit about me" was, under the circumstances, a fault.

Kent does not, however, apply this lesson wisely; and his subsequent actions, by contrast with those of Edgar, reveal a third and vital difference between the two characters' uses of disguise. Edgar has been called "bewildering in his changes";<sup>11</sup> but his natural vitality and his faith in an intelligible divine power remain constant. Initially delivered from the savagery of men "by the happy hollow of a tree", he later reminds Albany of "our lives' sweetness"; as for "the clearest gods", they are pronounced at last to be just. In fact, Edgar, recognizing the claims on men made by the natural world and by a higher realm as well, evidently feels that the actions of men must be related to both.<sup>12</sup> Sure of universal order, he is constant to his purposes, and he means what he says when he reminds Gloucester, "In nothing am I chang'd/But in my garments". He does not actually shift from one disguise to another; but he takes pleasure in using his disguise in different ways, as if to demonstrate his consistent control of the instrument. He rather enjoys the game of disguise, but he never forgets that it is a game. When disguise is no longer necessary, the hero emerges: "My name is Edgar and thy father's son".

Kent does not act in this way at all. Instead, he seems to become increasingly fond of his disguise for its own sake; in a sense, the disguise itself becomes master. This condition is apparent in III. i. Kent's account of affairs in the kingdom lays heavy stress on the disguised motives of servants, nobles, and nations; the French power is mysteriously suspect too; and when he comes to speak of himself, Kent is big with portentous intimations. He is very conscious of his disguise: his demeanour is almost smug.

I am a gentleman of blood and breeding,  
And from some knowledge and assurance offer  
This office to you.

(III. i. 40-42)

He is confused too. Having dispatched the Gentleman toward Dover, Kent abruptly directs him instead to join the search over the heath for the King. The subsequent refusal to abandon his disguise at the request of Cordelia, although it can hardly benefit Lear at this stage, merely confirms earlier hints that Kent has somehow "lost control". As Miss Bradbrook remarks, "A char-

<sup>11</sup> Wilson, p. 185.

<sup>12</sup> Bradley, commenting on Cordelia, Kent, Edgar, and the Fool, remarks gloomily, "Of these four characters Edgar excites the least enthusiasm"; but he notices the combination in Edgar of "pronounced and conscious religiousness" with "the feeling that life is sweet and must be cherished"; and he grants that Kent, who "has not Edgar's ever-present faith in the 'clearest gods' . . . lives mainly by the love in his own heart" (pp. 305, 306, 310).

acter could [in Elizabethan drama] be really changed by the assumption of a disguise" (p. 166). That is what has happened to Kent. Whatever his initial grasp of the reasons for disguising himself, he has at length become the baffled prisoner of his own game.

Finally, what does each achieve by his disguise? Edgar's rights are fully restored; and his will be a powerful voice in this newly ordered realm, where virtue and vice are appropriately rewarded. The ends for which he assumed and used disguise have been achieved. Further, the naive Edgar of Act I, now fortified by the extended term of concealed watchfulness, has developed into an alert and commanding personality. He meets a cry for help with "What kind of help?" To Albany's excitable "Run, run, O, run!" Edgar coolly responds, "To who, my lord? Who has the office?" And he is quick to qualify the extravagance of Kent:

*Kent.* Is this the promis'd end?

*Edgar.* Or image of that horror?

So the wise, patient, active man comes to power; and it is his expert manipulation of disguise (given a nature "free from doing harms") that has brought him there.

Kent receives rights and honors too; but his disguise was not assumed to get them. If "that full issue" meant the full restoration of Lear, Kent's "good intent" has failed. He reunites Lear and Cordelia, but his disguise contributes nothing in that quarter. On the heath, far from keeping his master safe, Kent is a thoroughly ineffectual figure. That he retains the disguise when Cordelia suggests he abandon it is a sign of his confusion; and in the last Act, the futility of a disguise improperly used is ironically underlined by the inability of Kent even to unmask himself. He is revealed to Albany and the attendant persons by Edgar; his effort to reveal himself to Lear is, as Edgar says, "very bootless". Events have passed the disguised Kent by, while Edgar has used his disguise to become their master.


"Even Kent has his moments of comedy", says Miss Bradbrook (p. 163). But more significantly comic than Kent's slapstick with Oswald is the wise-foolish man himself. Compared with Edgar, the exemplar of disguising and its uses, Kent is a clumsy novice. Certainly his devotion, the pattern of a true courtier's code, earns respect, even affection; but precisely the juxtaposition of that loyalty with undercutting bewilderment, in Kent, throws into high relief the role of Edgar as the wise and active pattern for men in a tough world.

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## Sex and Pessimism in *King Lear*

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RITICS of *King Lear* are rather generally agreed that in some sense or other it is a pessimistic play. Johnson, Swinburne, Bradley, Spencer, Chambers, Knight, and many others notice that Shakespeare is here picturing a very dark world, which Cordelia's goodness and Lear's redemption by no means lighten entirely. Grant that some of the characters are good and that some become good, still the best die and in circumstances which suggest that the gods do indeed "kill us for their sport." The suspicion that this is so, Gloucester found in his suffering, and if he abandoned it later, that is no sure sign that it was groundless. To this "tremendous and pessimistic drama", says one modern editor, "... Gloucester's words form the most fitting motto."<sup>1</sup>

Those who set out to weigh the play's pessimism in detail so as to find the "logic" of the whole, usually give most attention not to the discouragement of the afflicted characters but to the decisive events of the play and especially to Cordelia's cruel death, reflected in the wreckage surrounding Lear's. G. Wilson Knight wonders whether the gods laugh at Cordelia's death, whether the "*Lear* universe... is one ghastly piece of fun."<sup>2</sup> He concludes that it is not; and in fact, as Bradley and others who remember that the play is a tragedy have observed, the scene of Lear with Cordelia's body has a tremendous dignity and even tranquility.<sup>3</sup> To the audience the quality of the scene is finally not that of an unmitigated horror nor yet of a fire of outrage at the nature of things or of a rebellious assertion of man's loneliness and sole worth. It is rather a calm and particularly poignant awe at the power of Lear's life, seen a near match for the grand finality itself of death. "The oldest have borne most; we that are young/ Shall never see so much nor live so long" (V.iii. 325-326). Added up, perhaps, the events and most of the speeches of *King Lear* give a sum of pessimism, but those who say so almost never mean that it is a desperate pessimism, or a raging, or a defiant, like Strindberg's or Hauptmann's or Sartre's.

One of the major contributions to the impression of pessimism that the play may leave comes from a suspicion of Lear's which is parallel to the suspicion of Gloucester's that the gods are like wanton boys. Lear's is a suspicion not about killing as a joke of the gods, but about procreation as one of the devil's. "But to the girdle do the gods inherit,/ Beneath is all the fiend's" (IV.vi. 119-120). To the king, maddened by the offenses of his children against him and his

<sup>1</sup> G. B. Harrison, Introduction to *King Lear*, in *Shakespeare: 23 Plays and the Sonnets* (New York, 1948), p. 781.

<sup>2</sup> G. Wilson Knight, *The Wheel of Fire*, 4th ed. (London, 1949), p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, 2nd ed. reprinted (New York, 1949), p. 279.

against Cordelia, the act of generation has come to seem an inhuman abyss of the human will.

The wren goes to't, and the small gilded fly  
Does lecher in my sight.  
Let copulation thrive; for Gloucester's bastard son  
Was kinder to his father than my daughters  
Got 'tween the lawful sheets.  
To't, luxury, pell-mell! for I lack soldiers.  
Behold yond simp'ring dame,  
Whose face between her forks presageth snow,  
That minces virtue, and does shake the head  
To hear of pleasure's name.  
The fitchew nor the soiled horse goes to't  
With a more riotous appetite. (IV. vi. 114-125)

Man begets children by an impulse that Lear now sees as resistless and polluted; that it is natural too puts a new face on nature for him. Generation is a most primitive cooperation, in which personal knowledge and affection cannot live and out of which they cannot come. We have heard Lear put a frightful curse on generation in Goneril; finally the conviction of a primordial curse on it in all times and persons ravages his mind.

If Lear's speech can be taken, as Gloucester's on the wanton gods has been, to be a "keynote" of the play, then clearly *King Lear* is dreadfully pessimistic on sex. If the play does indeed say that a man's origin is unredeemed slime, that assertion goes very well with the assertion that his end is a reasonless joke. But the fact would seem to be that the play dignifies generation, after all, as it does death—dignifies them both largely with the preservation about them of their proper mystery, and sex, in addition, with an indication that a sort of miracle may attend its practice.

Plainly most of what characters in *King Lear* have to say about sex is unfavorable, and most of what the action seems to indicate is the same. Preliminary to Lear's shocking words on the power and horror of sex, are Edgar's account of himself as bedlam, tied largely to sexual predation, and the Fool's commentary on Lear's clash with the evil daughters, most wryly knowing on sexual evils. To Edgar copulation is the "act of darkness", and to the Fool it is that of the reckless codpiece with which the head must louse. At the beginning of the play, Gloucester is a jaunty old lecher, and at the end we hear that it was his lechery, performed in a "dark and vicious place", that cost him his eyes. Edmund early hails this vigorous lechery as a kind of ally in his elemental world of force; lust, if not the gods, stands up for bastards. Later Edmund is himself repulsively soiled with lechery, as are Goneril and Regan. Even Lear's knights are named to us, perhaps with reason, as "debosh'd and bold".

Very clearly all this is "unfavorable", and clearly the fact matters to the play. Lear seems in his madness to imply that sex is an insult to mankind and mercilessly alien—or that man is a beast. We rightly put sex at defiance, or cynically bow to it. "Let copulation thrive", since it does thrive. Yet thrive it never so well, Lear supposes that he knows it now for what it is: "There's hell, there's darkness, there's the sulphurous pit; burning, scalding, stench, consumption" (IV. vi. 121-122). Sex is not the sportive arrangement Gloucester

thought it. Ginger may be hot i' the mouth in more ways than one.

Yet surely the significance of the sex passages is not that they are an indictment of sex, as some of Strindberg's plays seem to amount to an indictment of woman, or Sartre's of public morality. The sex passages in *King Lear* do not, finally, express Shakespeare's outrage at the way man is made and reproduces himself. Shakespeare understood very well that sex is here to stay, and his plays are not rebellious against the fact. He never wasted his dramatic time on mere condemnation of anything so basic. *King Lear's* celebrated pessimism, what Knight calls its "fearless artistic facing of the ultimate cruelty of things", does not include a moral rejection of sex, much less a merely fastidious one. The play does, of course, face such cruel facts as that children may be unkind and that their obligation to be kind has ultimately an unknown ground, if it has any at all.

To the audience the sex horror of the play comes chiefly by way of the strongly expressed revulsion of the sympathetic characters from a self-evident foulness. With a kind of shocked Freudian insight the king detects the mating impulse as a brutal power horrifyingly strong just where it is not ordinarily evident. Behind such revulsion in the characters lies, we may assume, a kindred one, more sophisticated, in the author. Plainly Shakespeare himself considered the causes of Lear's shock and horror sufficient for their intended effect in both the king and the audience. Yet of course they do not move us as they move Lear, any more than the grieved awe we feel at Lear's death is the same as the awed grief that Edgar shows. What is mortal shock to Kent is a tragic pang to the audience. From the immediate causes of feeling in the characters the audience is detached, and its emotion is refined, furthermore, by the language and spectacle of the play. This well-known benefit from a special purchase on events and from the play's artistry is the audience's share in the sophistication of the author. What for the delirious Lear, then, is a frantic intuition of universal depravity in sex, is for the audience the recognition with pity and terror of a corruption the world may show—or of Lear's distressed way of seeing whatever it is that the world does show.

The audience's weighing of Lear's distress does not mean, of course, that the king's vehemence on sex is unconnected with facts or expresses solely his internal state. However distorted his way of seeing may be, Lear has come through an experience which the dramatic clarity of madness connects directly with sex: the hatefulness of his children belongs to the carnality that made them. "Twas this flesh begot/ Those pelican daughters" (III.iv.76-77).

Perhaps no strict computation of the grounds of Lear's sex raving is either possible or suitable, but plainly it stems in general from his daughters' ill treatment of him, real or fancied. One critic<sup>4</sup> supposes confidently that he thinks of Goneril as the "simp'ring dame/ . . . That minces virtue, and does shake the head/ To hear of pleasure's name," yet has an appetite exceeding that of the "soiled horse". If we are bound by the straight-away facts of the plot, he can hardly have spoken from any knowledge he had of looseness in her sex life, for he could not have heard of her liaison with Edmund. The audience does know of it, of course, and understands that the horrid disparity between Goneril's loving profession and her predatory act is matched in the conceal-

<sup>4</sup> Lilian Winstanley, *Macbeth, King Lear, and Contemporary History* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 156.

ment of a riotous appetite beneath a chaste expression. Perhaps we may suppose that Lear projects from her uncovered lust for power a lust of the flesh as yet secret to him. Or perhaps to Lear's sickness Cordelia is the dame who looked modest yet yearned for fornication. She must have been the purest-appearing of his daughters, the one "Whose face between her forks presageth snow." To Lear's outrage she kept half her love for her husband and attracted the "hot-blooded France that dowerless took" her (II. iv. 215).

However this may be, the sexual imagery of Lear's long speech in Act IV recalls powerfully events and speeches that have gone before it; his sex horror grounds in his sense of tainted generation. Because of unnatural daughters, the sex act appears a kind of dreadful seizure. The breeding of man, like that of the wren and the fly, is but a compulsive joining, and the chastest-seeming of women are centaurs down from the waist. If these images give justly the nature of propagation, no wonder that parent's claim on child and child's on parent do not hold good. Lear's reasoning circles: if—as his own experience testifies—these claims do not hold good, then the act of propagation upon which, most mysteriously, they rest is as bestial as it seems. The rationale of the pessimistic suspicion that tears Lear and through him affects the audience is logically naive, but resistless to the mad king and, in the sight of his suffering, impressive to us.

The audience with its sophistication understands, nevertheless, throughout that children do have a binding obligation to love and to revere their parents and parents one to love and minister to their children. This much the play takes for granted; it is a given morality in the action. To plead for Edmund and the evil sisters the vexations and humiliations their fathers troubled them with is to go outside the plain intent of the play. Lear and Gloucester, for their part, are clearly "wrong" to reject their good children and then are redeemed. Edgar and Cordelia are as blameless as dramatic characters can be and keep human seeming. The play says to the audience, then, with the most moving particularity, that the faith of child to father and of father to child does exist and ought to exist. By homely appeal to our human sympathy, the play confirms the audience in this faith and its rightness. This given morality is almost as simple and direct as that of natural reward and punishment which Dr. Johnson wished for in *King Lear*, and it certainly mitigates the play's pessimism, particularly that connected with sex. If some children are kind, then generation is not all evil.

Notice, however, that the given morality does not accompany a given metaphysics or cosmogony or anthropology, much less an eschatology. *King Lear* does not offer us any self-assured universal scheme of things from which we may confidently take or make an over-all account of either the final process or the whole meaning of events in the play. What Bradley says of Shakespeare's tragedy in general is especially apposite to *King Lear*: "Shakespeare was not attempting to justify the ways of God to men, or to show the universe as a Divine Comedy. He was writing tragedy, and tragedy would not be tragedy if it were not a painful mystery. Nor can he be said even to point distinctly where a solution might lie" (p. 8). The given morality of *King Lear* suits Christianity, certainly, and no doubt it suits many other creeds, but to feel its force in the play does not require a Christian account of it nor any account that

fits into a system. This is, of course, a very large question in Shakespeare criticism. I can do no more with it here than try to suggest how dramatically appropriate it is that the critic should allow the play the "painful mystery" of which Bradley speaks. This is a mystery related to that which prevails in the real world, where, however secure we are in our convictions, we must nevertheless acknowledge a vast ultimate uncertainty about whatever speculation we would use to sustain them.

One sign of such uncertainty in the play is, of course, the bafflement of the characters. Very clearly Lear and his friends are intellectually unequal to the questions they confront about generation and its duties. For Lear piety was an unexamined convention: the stars or the "gods" are our generators, and so duty is "natural", cosmic. The barbarous "unnatural" exists, but it is remote, almost mythical—the Scythian or "he that makes his generation messes/ To gorge his appetite" (I.i. 118-119). Lear conducts increasingly harassed calculations on childlike offices, first trivially in shares of the kingdom and numbers of knights, and then grotesquely in a phantom trial and anatomization. "Is there any cause in nature that makes these hard hearts?" (III.vi.80). He has accounted for Goneril's impiety with "degenerate bastard", and if Regan is not kind and comfortable he will divorce him from her mother's tomb as sepulchring an adulteress. Yet "Gloucester's bastard son/ Was kinder to his father than my daughters/ Got 'tween the lawful sheets" (IV.vi.116-118). "It is the stars", says Kent, and the ineffectiveness of that answer recalls the hard logic with which Edmund disposed of foolishness about the stars. Gloucester, for his part, can account for a thankless child no better than Lear could: "I never got him" (II.i.80).

In a way, of course, these old men are equal to the question; they are serious and great of heart; whereas Edmund talking of the stars is essentially frivolous, like Cornwall commending Edmund's "childlike office" in betraying his brother or Regan tarring Edgar with his friendship to Lear's knights. Lear and Gloucester and Kent genuinely yearn toward universal order. But at their best by neither word nor deed can they do more than *assert* the given morality. Does their assertion and Cordelia's signify cosmic justice, some compensation in an unwritten sixth act, for their cruel deaths? Does it mean that nature finally is benign? or that God lives? For answering these questions the detachment of the audience and its superior knowledge give no decisive advantage; the bafflement of the characters proceeds not only from their intellectual inadequacies but from real deficiencies in the evidence. We know better than Lear does the evidence from Gloucester's bastard, and we know before Lear that he has "one daughter yet/ Who redeems nature from the general curse/ Which twain have brought her to" (IV.vi.209-212); such knowledge just leads us too to the hope of the given morality, not to any sure ground for it. Is this morality given by a greater authority than human yearning? The action does not positively say so. After the reconciliation of Lear to Cordelia we hear no more, it is true, of his disenchantment with generation, but his new mood is only the tenderest assertion of the given morality. It does not, as Dr. Johnson thought it should, fend off death. And it does not answer the question of the unkind child, but simply adds the question of the kind one. "One self mate and mate could not beget/ Such different issues" (IV.iv.36-37), cries Kent. But it has done so.

Lear dies on an ecstatic conviction that Cordelia lives, but that does not answer for the audience why a "dog, a horse, a rat, have life" and she none. In the same way, Lear's purified love is no answer, either for him or for us, to the question of how perversions of nature can arise from the conditions of nature. In the anguish of his madness Lear comes back again and again to this profound question, and the audience, if not the king, is finally left with it. The goodness of the good children gives no explanation of the evil of the evil, and only partial reassurance.

The given morality, then, does not exhaust the sophistication of the author about generation. The play does not, like a novel of sentiment, come comfortably to rest in this morality. Along with the impression of it, the audience retains as strongly an impression of mystery, of unfathomed being. "Men must endure/ Their going hence, even as their coming hither" (IV. iii. 9, 10). This counsel of poise and patience is all the ultimate hope or explanation that is certain in *King Lear* about either birth or death.

The play's attitudes on sex, then, sustain its pessimism, but not without the tempering into grandeur that a tragedy must have, and this elevating and tranquilizing is partly the effect of preserved mystery and partly of the simple encouragement that comes from seeing one who justly thinks and has most rightly said stand out as a beacon by which, at last, the protagonist guides. Cordelia's love is "an ever-fixed mark". To what haven she guides Lear or by what right, we cannot be sure; but the dramatic relief is all the greater for the grand uncertainty. In love, the play indicates, is a kind of miracle, so that sex, along with the rest of life and death itself, is transmutable from slime to grandeur. We do not find it said that sex is itself grandeur and not slime, or that a conversion exists to more than our conviction. But the play does say that in our conviction, anyway, sex may be exalted by the miracle of love and so made confrontable, though mysterious still, secure in the doubts and even despair that properly go with great mystery.

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# The Probable Origin of Ariel

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N essays that have dealt with the genesis of Shakespeare's Ariel, critics have customarily concerned themselves either with the derivation of the winsome spirit's name or with his similitude to one, or more, of the six traditional classes of demons. Edmond Malone believed that Shakespeare had found the term *Ariel* in *Isaiah XXIX*, where it is used as an alternative name of the city of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> A second interesting possibility has been suggested by Stacy Johnson; namely, that the term came to Shakespeare's attention from a reading of Trimethius' *Steganographia*, in which Ariel appears as one of twenty-eight planetary angels.<sup>2</sup> Most critics, by contrast, have maintained that the name *Ariel* is merely an intentional transposition of the word *aerial*; this conclusion is in concord with the commonly held belief that the name of Caliban, the earthen foil of Ariel, is a Shakespearian alteration of the word *cannibal*. The chief argument used to support this interpretation of Ariel's name is derived from the popular viewpoint as to the genesis of his character. A majority of commentators—Coleridge, Sir Edward Strachey, and many moderns—place stress on the obvious fact that Ariel is created in the likeness of an air-inhabiting spirit; according to Robert Burton, in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), such a spirit had power to "cause tempests, thunder, and lightnings".<sup>3</sup> The late-nineteenth-century critic Howard Staunton assumed—much to his credit—a broader viewpoint as to Ariel's genesis. He was the first to point out that Ariel is an incomparably comprehensive demon. While he recognized him as basically a product of the air, he also noted in Ariel several characteristics that tradition had assigned to other types of demons, namely, those of fire and those of water. To this subject—the comprehensiveness of Ariel's capacities as a demon—I shall eventually return: complex by nature, it tends to obscure, and not to define, the immediate origin of Shakespeare's most benevolent demon.

To the late Elizabethan drama belongs a character who, as a prototype of Ariel, is a far more concrete concept than is any contemporary notion of pneumatology. The character is Shrimp, the magician's apprentice of Anthony Munday's comedy entitled *John a Kent & John a Cumber* and written not later than 1595. Shrimp has the capacities to enter through a "key hole" and to traverse long distances instantaneously; hence, he assumes the characteristics of a familiar spirit rather than a mere human associate of his master, John a

<sup>1</sup> See H. H. Furness, ed., *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, vol. IX (*The Tempest*) (Philadelphia, n. d.), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Stacy Johnson, "The Genesis of Ariel", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, II, 206.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. by Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith (New York, 1948), p. 166.

Kent. Near the beginning of the play, John is described as having the power to "fetche swifte wingde spirits...from the upper regions of the ayre".<sup>4</sup> In a variety of capacities, Shrimp answers to the description of an aerial demon. Lithe of manner, he customarily skips onto the stage. When the rival sorcerer John a Cumber, through art magic, has captured the princesses Sidanen and Marian, John a Kent commands the help of Shrimp:

Sirra, get thee to the back gate of the Castell  
And through the key hole quickly wring thee in,  
Mark well, and bring me word what stratagem  
This cunning John meanes next to enterprise.

The mercurial Shrimp replies, "I fly Sir, and am there already" (p. 31). The attributes mentioned in this dialogue are those of a demon, probably of aerial origin; a human magician, according to Elizabethan interpretation, did not have the power to reduce himself to a diminutive size or to travel instantaneously from place to place.

The stratagems employed by Shrimp in winning back the stolen princesses into the custody of his master are two in number; moreover, they are precise prototypes of those magical feats which Ariel later performed and which, at the same time, are not directly related to the traditional functions of an "ayrie spirit". Like Ariel, Shrimp assumes an invisible form and then plays upon a pipe so enchantingly that those who hear him are irresistibly compelled to follow. In this manner he leads the two princesses and their escorts back from the town of Chester to a "Chestnut tree hard by", a rendezvous designated by John a Kent. Once the company has arrived at the chestnut tree, one of the escorts, Oswen by name, is prompted to remark:

This sound is of some instrument;  
for two houres space it still hath haunted us,  
now heere, now there, on eche syde round about us,  
And questionless, either we follow it,  
Or it guydes us, least we mistake our way. (P. 34)

In *The Tempest*, Ariel is made to execute precisely this same stratagem of magic in order to lead Ferdinand and, later, the elder Italian noblemen to Prospero's cave. Moreover, two of Oswen's phrases are re-echoed in a slightly altered form by Ferdinand. The escort's comment, "This sound is of some instrument...now heere, now there, on eche syde round about us", finds a correspondence in the Neapolitan prince's amazed outcry, "Where should this music be? i' th' air, or th' earth?"<sup>5</sup> A more exact parallel exists between Oswen's utterance, "Either we follow it,/ Or it guydes us", and Ferdinand's, "Thence I have follow'd it,/ Or it hath drawn me rather" (ll. 391-392). Indeed, so alike are these two utterances that Shakespeare, if he is to escape the charge of unveiled plagiarism, does so only because he has substituted the word *drawn* in place of Munday's *guydes*, which he might have employed in its past participial form.

Shrimp performs a second major ruse that directly anticipates the magical

<sup>4</sup> Anthony Munday, *John a Kent & John a Cumber* (c. 1595). Malone Society Reprint (London, 1923), p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Tempest* (c. 1612). *The Comedies*, ed. by W. J. Craig (London, 1922), p. 22 (l. ii. 385).

practice of Ariel. Once he has brought the travelers, after many miles of wandering, to the chestnut tree, he renews his pipe-playing—but to another purpose. With “dainty music”, he lulls the two escorts into a heavy slumber and, in this manner, brings about the escape of the two princesses, who remain fully conscious (p. 35). Thus, Munday precisely foreshadows Shakespeare’s use of a clever device: in both dramas, an air-like spirit, by playing soporific music, has power to lull selected victims into sleep without affecting the other persons who are present, and whom he wishes to stay awake. The concept of Ariel’s employment of music to cast Alonso and Gonzalo into a slumber, during which Antonio and Sebastian remain fully awake, has no precedent in the pneumatological theories of the Elizabethans; the only extant Elizabethan prototype of this episode is Shrimp’s stratagem—his selective inducement of sleep through the force of music—as depicted by Munday.

In the restricted circle of the Elizabethan theatrical profession, Shakespeare and Munday were certain to have been familiar with one another’s plays. But the manner in which Shakespeare acquired a comparatively exact knowledge of *John a Kent & John a Cumber* is obscured by the uncertainty that attends the date of composition of this comedy. The date is appended to the existing manuscript, but only the month “Decembris” is clearly penned: the year has been variously interpreted as 1595, 1596, and in recent times as 1590. If we accept I. A. Shapiro’s conclusion that *John a Kent & John a Cumber* was first produced prior to September 1589,<sup>6</sup> we are confronted by an unlikelihood, namely, that Shakespeare, in writing *The Tempest*, recalled to mind a comedy that had been performed almost a full generation in the past. But this unlikelihood, or disadvantage, is more apparent than real. Munday wrote principally for the Lord Admiral’s Company. This company, as we know, united with Lord Strange’s Company in the winter of 1593-1594 and toured the outlying provinces. It is probable that many older plays were revived during this tour, including *John a Kent & John a Cumber*, a lively comedy. Shakespeare, as a member of Lord Strange’s Company, was almost certain to have been familiar with the repertoire of the two itinerant companies. Indeed, the close resemblance of the amazed Ferdinand’s utterances to those of Oswen, as is noted earlier in this essay, suggests that Shakespeare actually played the part of Oswen and, years later, recalled certain phrases to mind. On the other hand, I regard Shapiro’s conclusion as to the date of Munday’s comedy as no more than a plausible hypothesis. The comedy may have been written as late as 1595. If we accept this alternative hypothesis, the existing manuscript, the action of which takes place in West Chester, England, is almost certainly a remodeling of *The Wise Man of West Chester*, a play which opened at the Rose on December 2, 1594, and which was performed at least thirty-two times;<sup>7</sup> indeed, the manuscript is very possibly a special draft of *The Wise Man* intended for a performance at the court during the Christmas season of 1595-1596. As a young playwright in search of ideas, Shakespeare was almost certain to have been a spectator at one, and probably more, of the thirty-two known performances of *The Wise Man*. It is not unlikely that he “pirated” a few appealing passages of dialogue, including the phrases that were later to be re-echoed by Ferdinand.

<sup>6</sup> See I. A. Shapiro, “The Significance of a Date”, *Shakespeare Survey* 8, pp. 100-108.

<sup>7</sup> See E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, III, 446.

The foregoing hypotheses, however, are not essential to my conclusion that Shakespeare was well acquainted with the comedy now known as *John a Kent & John a Cumber*. His knowledge of this play need hardly be supported by more than the very substantial internal evidence. Not only does Shrimp execute certain unusual feats of magic which are duplicated, almost exactly, by Ariel; in addition, he possesses a bird-like grace, as is evidenced by the fact that he customarily skips onto the stage. The close correspondences between Shrimp and Ariel are, in themselves, an almost irrefutable proof that Shakespeare had a firsthand knowledge of Munday's comedy. Moreover, the conspicuous similarity of the utterances made by Oswen and Ferdinand, respectively, could not, I think, have been accidental.<sup>8</sup>

Although a lithesome character, Shrimp manifests little of the remarkable versatility of Ariel. Both can travel from place to place instantaneously. Likewise, as I have noted, Ariel carries out two magical stratagems almost precisely as they had been executed by Shrimp. But Shrimp is barely more than the skeletal prototype of Ariel; he is the framework upon which Shakespeare molded the electrifying protoplasm of his "ayrie" demon: electrifying and, at the same time, most assuaging in the charm of personality. Donald Stauffer, without elaborating on Ariel's genesis, has noted his "Protean power to enter into any existence".<sup>9</sup> This power, this versatility, is no accident. It is the product of the once popular science of demonology, and from this science Shakespeare drew freely in rounding out the character of Ariel. With two or three exceptions, the major feats performed by Ariel are identical to those of Shrimp. The most important exception is the raising of the tempest in order to incarcerate Alonso's flagship. This particular enterprise stamps Ariel as a demon belonging to the air. Even in this action, however, he takes on some of the characteristics that the Elizabethans ascribed to a spirit of fire. Staunton remarked this fact and has quoted Burton to the effect that fire-inhabiting demons "commonly work by blazing stars, fire drakes, or *ignes fatui* . . . and sit upon shipmasts".<sup>10</sup> Burton's further observation apparently escaped Staunton's attention, namely, that "fiery spirits" have power to take on the form of "St. Elmo fires" and, in such shape, to appear on prominent parts of a ship (p. 166). In conformity with these tenets, Ariel is able to report:

Sometimes I'd divide  
And burn in many places; on the topmast,  
The yards, and boresprit, would I flame distinctly.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Anciently, the "books" of *John a Kent* and *Sir Thomas More* were, as my reader will recall, bound from portions of the same vellum of a medieval manuscript entitled *Compilatio Prima*, a treatise on Canon Law. In the present article, I have found it necessary to avoid an evaluation of the relationship that anciently existed between these two plays. A brief mention of the significance of this relationship is not possible; an acceptable evaluation necessitates a discussion of the various theories that have been put forward by such critics as W. W. Greg, D. C. Collins, and R. C. Bald in respect to the dates of the two dramas. My purpose, in this present essay, is confined solely to pointing out the genesis of Ariel. The probability that Shakespeare was familiar with Munday's *John a Kent & John a Cumber* tends, of course, to support the hypothesis that he had a comparatively important hand in the revision of the companion play, *Sir Thomas More*; at worst, it does not detract from this hypothesis. But so complex is this problem that a discussion of it, within the present essay, must assuredly lead to a disproportion and hence obscure my basic objective.

<sup>9</sup> Donald Stauffer, *Shakespeare's World of Images* (New York, 1949), p. 305.

<sup>10</sup> Furness, pp. 6-7.

<sup>11</sup> *Tempest*, ed. Craig, p. 16 (l. ii. 198-200). This description could also have been suggested by a

The fact that Ariel can assume the form of a naiad, or water demon, has likewise been noted by Staunton. But he did not point out that Shakespeare has given to this dainty spirit the characteristic of even a fourth species of demons: Ariel, as Prospero tells us, can "do . . . business in the veins o' the earth/ When it is baked with frost"<sup>12</sup>—an attribute ascribed only to subterranean spirits. When explained in terms of Elizabethan demonology, the "Protean power" of Ariel—his comprehensiveness—becomes less mystifying. In him are embodied the important attributes of at least four of the six traditional categories of demons.<sup>13</sup>

There can be little doubt that Shakespeare was indebted to Munday's characterization of Shrimp, whose important acts of magic are almost identically reproduced by Ariel. But a two-dimensional portrait, especially of a major character, was not sufficient to satisfy the genius of the matured Shakespeare. The comprehensiveness of Ariel's capacities—his "Protean" nature—has no parallel in Munday's play. It is, instead, the product of a highly sensitive selectivity; a number of tenets which relate to demons, and which are basically heterogeneous to one another, have been amalgamated by Shakespeare into an almost perfect organism, both electrifying and harmonious.

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passage in Sir William Strachey's *A True Repertory of the Wracke*, written in 1610 but not published until 1625. Strachey wrote: "Upon Thursday night [the night before the Sea-Venture was shipwrecked upon the Bermudas] Sir George Sommers . . . had apparition of a little round light . . . streaming along with a sparkeling blaze, halfe the height upon the Maine Mast, and shooting sometimes from Shroud to Shroud . . . running sometimes along the Maine-yard to the very end." (Quoted from Charles M. Gayley, *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America*, 1917, p. 11.) Even if Shakespeare did see Strachey's manuscript prior to 1612, he was almost certain to be conscious of the similarity of the foregoing description to a function commonly associated with fire-inhabiting demons. He was not likely to assign to a spirit, such as Ariel, an attribute that he did not associate with demonic potentiality.

<sup>12</sup> *Tempest*, ed. Craig, p. 18 (l. ii. 255-256).

<sup>13</sup> The six standard categories of demons, as I have discussed or alluded to them, are those which are given special attention by Robert Burton in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621). In addition to the spirits which inhabit fire, air, water, and subterranean caves are those which frequent the earth's surface (fairies, trolls, Robin Goodfellows, elves, and so on) and the infernal or damned spirits. Of the two last-mentioned species, Ariel appears to possess no well-defined characteristic, with one possible exception: his ability to lead his victims wheresoever he chooses is not dissimilar to the practice of terrestrial demons, usually termed pucks, who were alleged to delight in leading travelers astray. But there is a marked distinction in the methods of this practice. Ariel (in the manner of Munday's Shrimp) enchants his victims through the medium of music and song, which are becoming to his ethereal nature; the earthen puck, by contrast, was alleged to lead night travelers astray by commonplace devices such as the counterfeiting of a companion's voice. (See Burton, p. 170.) Also, unlike Ariel and Shrimp, the puck who misguided victims had no constructive objective in mind: he was motivated almost exclusively by his prankish humor.

For Womens favours are a leading almes ;  
If you be pleas'd, look cheerly through your eyes,  
Out at your masks.

*Prig.* And let your beauties sparkle.

*Hig.* So may you nee'r want drellings, jewels, gownes  
Still i'the fashion.

*Prig.* Nor chémen you love,  
Wealth nor discourse to please you.

*Hig.* May you Gentlemen,  
Never want good fresh suits, nor liberty.

*Prig.* May every Merchant here see safe his ventures.

*Hig.* And every honest Citizen his debts in.

*Prig.* The Lawyers gain good Clyents.

*Hig.* And the Clyents good Counsell.

*Prig.* All the Gamesters here good fortune.

*Hig.* The Drunkards too good wine.

*Prig.* The eaters meat

Fie for their tails and pallats.

*Hig.* The good wives kind husbands.

*Prig.* The young Maids choice of Suitors.

*Hig.* The Midwives merry hearts.

*Prig.* And all good chear.

*Hig.* As you are kind unto us and our Bush,  
We are the Beggars, and your daily Beadsmen,  
And have your money ; but the Almes we ask  
And liveby, is your Grace, give that, and then  
Wee'll boldly say, our word is *Come agen*.

*Florez.* by Bar. Hart

*Hubert.* by Aurt.

*VanDunk.* by Cartwright

*Higgin.* by Shatworth.

*Prig.* by Cun

*Woolfent.* (I think) by Old Throph. Byrd.

*At y<sup>e</sup> Red Bull*

1659. or 1660.

FINIS



Manuscript list of theatrical cast (incomplete), written on a slip of paper pasted on the last page of Francis Kirkman's pirated edition (1661) of *The Beggars Bush*, by John Fletcher and others (?). The note about performance at the Red Bull in 1659 or 1660 confirms the lists of Sir Henry Herbert (see *Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, pp. 82, 116). From the copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library. See p. 116.



# Shakespeare's Christian Sonnet?

## Number 146

B. C. SOUTHAM

Poore soule the center of my sinfull earth,  
My sinfull earth these rebbell powres that thee array,  
Why dost thou pine within and suffer dearth  
Painting thy outward wall so costlie gay?  
Why so large cost having so short a lease,  
Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend?  
Shall wormes inheritors of this excesse  
Eate up thy charge? is this thy bodies end?  
Then soule live thou upon thy servants losse,  
And let that pine to aggravat thy store;  
Buy tearmes divine in selling houres of drosse:  
Within be fed, without be rich no more,  
So shalt thou feed on death, that feeds on men,  
And death once dead, ther's no more dying then.



THIRTY years ago Graves and Riding, in *A Survey of Modernist Poetry*, performed on Sonnet 129 an exegetical analysis to demonstrate the wealth of meaning which modern editors had denied the poem by imposing on it twentieth-century spelling and punctuation. A few years later William Empson, following the general method of Graves and Riding, offered a detailed reading of Sonnet 94 in *Some Versions of Pastoral*. And since these pioneer works in close analysis, many other of the sonnets have been treated in such detail, with a general tendency to study those whose ambiguities and richness of content are most amenable to the techniques of explication. Perhaps it is because Sonnet 146 does not offer the ground for a virtuoso performance in interpretation that it has received little attention. Line two, its 1609 Q reading thought corrupt, has always been a prominent crux, and in the course of time has gathered thirty or more variant readings. Thus the poem as whole has been consigned to the textual, rather than to the interpretative critics, and its meaning has never been in question. (I do not propose to discuss these variants. The Q reading must be highly suspect; perhaps the last three words of line one became transposed. Whatever emendation we adopt—"Bearing", "Feeding", "Fooled by" etc.—the sense of this single line does not modify that of the whole poem).

This sonnet is generally accepted as a statement of Shakespeare's sympathetic attitude towards a commonplace of Christian doctrine. The theme is understood to be a combination of "I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection"

(1 Cor. 9. 27.) and "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" (1 Cor. 15. 55.), and the commentary and criticism on the poem reveal an impressive unanimity: Shakespeare's Christian sentiments are applauded; the clarity of expression and the absence of ambiguity are noted; and it is allowed a place among the greatest of the sequence. W. F. Schirmer (*Anglia*, 1925, XLIX) reads the poem as a comforting conclusion to the whole cycle, which laments melodiously the inevitable progress of time. Indeed, some editors, sharing this view and departing from Thorpe's order, elevate it to the position of number 154. J. M. Robertson (*The Problems of the Shakespeare Sonnets*) records that "146 stands out as creating no critical or spiritual discomfort in the sympathetic reader." Among more recent critics E. Hubler (*The Sense of Shakespeare's Sonnets*) enforces the traditional reading; he appeals, "...surely it should be apparent to all men in their senses...that the poem is Christian, and that Shakespeare presents the Christianity without apology." Even G. Wilson Knight (*The Mutual Flame*) has nothing new to say. He sees this "famous and valuable sonnet" to repeat and interpret for us "our other thoughts on the universal principle of interaction and balance, loss and gain.... Here, in our religious sonnet, the great thing is firmly said, because an adequate thought-mould, in terms of a religious tradition, is being used." Critics agree that it is remarkable in the canon as the only direct evidence of Shakespeare's subscription to Christian tenets. This reading has encouraged a confusion of values, for its importance as a unique statement of belief has been assumed to confer upon it greatness as a work of art. The status of the poem has been further dignified in the eyes of the common reader by the frequency of its appearance in popular anthologies, and it stands on equal terms with the acknowledged master-sonnets in such influential collections as the *Oxford Book of English Verse*, and Auden and Pearson's *Poets of the English Language*. Perhaps the most striking testimony to the specifically religious appeal of this sonnet is that it is sung as a hymn in English churches.

Both scholar and ordinary reader concur. They find that Shakespeare endorses bodily subjugation as a means to spiritual health, and thereby, to a conquest of death. The sonnet is hailed as an unqualified statement of orthodox Christian belief and, as such, a unique document in the Shakespeare canon. Only once have I seen it suggested that this reading may not necessarily be definitive. In *The American Scholar*, Vol. XII, under the title "Critical Principles and a Sonnet", D. A. Stauffer records a discussion between five critics which centered upon Sonnet 146. During the course of the discussion John Crowe Ransom remarked: "I am struck by the fact that the divine terms which the soul buys are not particularly Christian: there are few words in the poem that would directly indicate conventional religious dogma. Rather, in the notion that the soul is a mere tenant of the body, a prince who has fallen to the condition of a sentinel in the world's garrison, a stranger coming from another realm, the sonnet seems in spirit to be Platonic." This comment was not amplified by Ransom, nor did his companions take it up, and although I am not able to agree with him in particulars of his criticism his overall impression that the sonnet is not merely an endorsement of Christian asceticism hints that a more penetrating reading is possible.

The structure of the poem follows the usual Shakesperian sonnet pattern,

the thought being developed within the unit of the quatrain, with a shift at line nine, and the final couplet serving as a conclusion. The octave is composed of a series of rhetorical questions directed at the soul and, arising from these questions, the sestet offers Shakespeare's advice. In the first quatrain four situations are used to figure the body-soul relationship: the soul as center of the earth, that is as a ruler imprisoned by a sinful world; the soul as the ruler of a land troubled by rebellion; the soul as ascetic, enduring self-privation; the soul as house-owner, decorating the outside walls. The soul's predicament is established in these four parallel statements, and the development of the figures is to heighten the suggestion that the soul is itself responsible for its fortune. In the first two lines the soul seems compelled to suffer; in line three, it is enduring hardship and the hint of resignation about its plight is countered as we are led through to line four, where its subordination to the body is made to seem an act of will, not the force of fate, circumstances, or the body's more forceful claims. My analysis of these lines has been conducted to draw out the main development of the poem in its thought and feeling. Of course, the complexity and richness with which these elements are presented by Shakespeare have been severely reduced in my version of the opening quatrain. But I shall select "array" from line two as a single example of the close verbal texture, an example which will also show how intimately the figures are associated. In Shakespearean usage the word has a wide range of meaning. In a semi-technical sense, given the military context of line two, it could mean "marshal for battle": thus the physical being ("these rebbell powers") mobilizes and exploits the soul, who should rule, to its own ends. As we come on to line three this meaning would give way to the second sense—"to ill-treat, to bring to a lowly condition". While, with the house-decoration of line four, "array" could be understood as meaning "to dress, to decorate". Not one of these meanings is exclusive and they all operate to amplify the situation in obedience to the varying associations which the neighboring lines suggest. The predominant tone of this first quatrain is that of pitying indignation, which stresses the paradoxical situation—the soul, the rightful ruler, subservient to the body—which is calculated to incite the soul to action. Pity is uppermost, but we should remember that the soul, an innocent victim in line one, is presented in line four almost as if it were a guilty accomplice.

The next quatrain may be conveniently studied in two parts. In the first two lines the house-decoration figure initiated in line four is developed, now with more technical reference to legal terminology, and the argument proceeds upon overtly practical grounds: why lavish care upon the body, when it will die so soon? The note of warning is deepened at the close of the octave with the urgent rhetorical questions reminding the soul that when life is gone the worms will consume the body, upon which such an excess of attention has been lavished, and that they will be the "inheritors" of the soul's "charge". Thus, at the turn of the poem, it has so far been argued that the soul, suffering that the body may thrive, is acting foolishly because the body, inferior and worthless object, is anyway fated to the ignoble end of providing carrion for the worms. The feeling, thought, and expression, are in perfect harmony. The technical imagery, derived from the fields of law, real estate, and architecture, creates a curiously cold, analytic air, foreign perhaps to the note of concerned pity to

which the poem opens, but complementary to the indignation we can detect at the close of the octave. The soul becomes worthy more of condemnation than sympathy for its predicament.

The imperative opening to the sestet is in contrast to the easier movement and lower emotional intensity of the first part of the poem. Line nine is instinct not so much with indignation as with the harsh violence of revenge. At one level we are not altogether shocked at this tone, for the rather mundane and commercial nature of the earlier figures hinted that the values of this poem are perhaps as much related to the worldliness of Elizabethan commercial prosperity as to the gentleness of Christian charity. Now the "poore soule" of line one is urged to reverse the initial situation; having once been exploited, it is now, in its own turn, to exploit the body. This is a Biblical sentiment, and the relationship of master to servant is archetypal; it figures that of God to Mankind. Yet the logic and persuasion with which Shakespeare advances this line of thought is devilish in its conclusion; the relationship is here perverted. Christian sentiment would have the master succor the servant, but here the soul-master is not to cherish the body-servant, for it is to profit by the other's decline. Just as the soul, in line three, pined within the body, so in revenge is the soul advised in line ten to let the body pine "to aggravat thy store". And it is at this point particularly that we can see how equivocal is the advice offered. Editors usually comment that the word "aggravat" means "to increase, to strengthen, to add weight to". Assuming this related set of meanings to be satisfactory, it would be reasonable to suppose that "store" in line ten refers to the accumulation of blessings awaiting the soul of the ascetic in heaven. However, the use of "aggravat" elsewhere in Shakespeare shows that the word was heavily toned; in fact, that it carried for him, as it does for us today, the sense of "to increase the seriousness, to make more grievous, to make worse". I have noted four instances where the word is used in the plays, and in every case it bears strongly critical overtones. For example, in *The Merry Wives* (The Oxford Shakespeare, II.ii.301), Falstaff promises Brook that he shall lie with Ford's wife and "aggravate his style"—"style", his name as cuckold. In *Richard II*, I.i.43, Bolingbroke cries at Mowbray,

Once more, the more to aggravate the note,  
With foul traitor's name I stuff thy throat.

In 2 *Henry IV*, II.iv.175, Mistress Quickly's malapropism is to beseech Pistol to "aggravate your choler", while we find Bottom (*A Midsummer Night's Dream* I.ii.84), misusing this same word in a significant manner; "but I will aggravate my voice so that I will roar you as gently as any sucking dove. . . ." It is disregarding Shakespeare's use of the word if we ascribe to it here only the neutral force of its etymological root, *aggravare*. Shakespeare uses it with pejorative force, and it asserts the critical movement of the thought. "Store" does not refer to the waiting joys of heaven but to the punishments in hell (or conscience) which are being prepared for a master who has acted in such an un-Christianlike way towards his servant.

In line 11 the soul is urged to a transaction that is starkly simonious. The eternity of life in heaven is the reward for bodily privation on earth, and this denial and recompense is conceived of as a spiritual bargain concluded in

grossly commercial terms, where the antithesis of "tearmes divine" and "houres of drosse" impresses the inequality of the deal. This, certainly, would attract a reading public which might have forgotten *Beatitude non est virtutis prae-mium, sed ipsa virtus*. That is the Christian ethic, and by now we can see the irony of Shakespeare's seemingly orthodox advice. The persuasion to win an access of grace by such means can now be expressed in the laconic phrase of line twelve, "Within be fed", and we begin to wonder, was not the soul that pined and suffered in line three enjoying better spiritual health than this calculating cheat? The final couplet gains a great deal of point in the light of this reading. It is more than a heroic gesture; not just a poor imitation of the scriptures that is lame beside the vehement exultation of Donne's tenth Holy Sonnet; but a conclusion which is a logical end to all that has gone before. The word "So", beginning line thirteen, points verbally the progression of the theme: "in this way, following the advice offered so far in the sestet, the soul will feed on Death". Yes, but it is not the Biblical conquest of Death by entry into eternal life. It is a conquest *by* Death, for such conduct will lead to spiritual death, beyond which, as the final line reminds us, there can be no further end. The soul has taken upon itself the identity of the worms in line seven, who themselves lived upon the body, just as it has been advised to do now.

Luce<sup>1</sup> calls the sonnet "an exact epitome of the Biblical yet lofty morality of Shakespeare's time." There are, true enough, a number of Biblical echoes which superficially run the poem along a conventional course, and the values of the poem seem to be those of the prosperous Elizabethan world. But it is Shakespeare the humanist speaking, pleading for the life of the body as against the rigorous asceticism which glorifies the life of the spirit at the expense of the vitality and richness of sensuous experience. Neither spiritual nor bodily life can be fulfilled at the other's cost, for the whole man, body and spirit indivisible, will suffer thereby. We can see how very much higher is the charity which motivates this sonnet than the type of Christianity which moves on the surface of the poem, and at which the irony is directed.

*Oxford*

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare The Man and His Work* (Bristol and Linden, 1913), p. 90.

# The Force of Friendship

Thou Julia say, that Julia whom I wrong,  
flam by his hand shut as the Intestines  
Johnson's fatal fire and mine:

M.D. O.P. Enter Eucrate, Cynthia Gent

Give Love's Colours, show that equal hand  
That deals unerring justice to his creatures  
Emments thus for my fall, I faint far away!

[Exit]

Colt: Behold Cynthia, see Cynthia dying:  
Her form, for ever gone - oh my Cynthia!  
Aup: Take her Deformed for us you have lost  
The just Amelia, I like faithful Julia,  
Which merit loves, and never dying, returns:  
Leon: Remove the body, to a mournful sight  
Satan with a bleeding heart infused me  
of what here happened, hence's wound my children  
of breaking vows and violating faith:  
Hence let the pyre be lit: Let him be seen  
The hand of Justice the his show will come,  
For Justice requires right, show your madures,  
Who are his: Show, all harmony and love:

Find  
This Play into The Force of Love  
Lying to and writing at Home, 1710  
Lying to and writing at Home, 1710  
Lying to and writing at Home, 1710  
Lying to and writing at Home, 1710

Cover and manuscript license for performance of the prompt book of Charles Johnson's *The Force of Friendship* (1710). The license is signed by Charles Killigrew, Master of the Revels after 24 February 1676/7. The prompter has written "M. D. O. P." in the margin in a bold hand (i.e., Middle Door, Opposite Prompter). From Folger Shakespeare Library Ms. D. b. 62. See p. 116.



## Reviews

*The London Shakespeare. A New Annotated and Critical Edition of the Complete Works. Edited by the late JOHN MUNRO. With an introduction by G. W. G. WICKHAM. Vol. I: pp. xcvi + 678; Vol. II: pp. 679-1469; Vol. III: pp. 771; Vol. IV: pp. 773-1514; Vol. V: pp. 886; Vol. VI: pp. 887-1690. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1958. \$30.00.*

John Munro died in 1956, and Dr. Wickham in his preface to this edition tells us that the text, the annotations and the separate introductions for each play were complete by then. It is a handsomely bound and well-printed edition (though the paper allows a regrettable amount of show-through), and it is likely to be widely used. Two volumes each are given to the comedies, the histories and poems, and the tragedies. Among the histories we find *Sir Thomas More*, though only the parts probably or possibly to be assigned to Shakespeare. There is a glossary at the end of the sixth volume, and the separate introductions to the plays are remarkably concise, presenting—usually within less than ten pages—the evidence concerning publication and date, a list of the likely sources, and a summary of critical opinion. A glance at Munro's work would suggest that here is an edition which should widely disperse the fruits of Shakespearean scholarship. It is unfortunate that such an impression does not fully meet the test of closer examination.

First of all, the text should engage attention. Certainly Munro was deeply familiar with the wealth of argument on those passages where debate has been fierce or prolonged, and his text as a whole is careful and sensible. But his methods of presenting and justifying his text are open to serious question. The reader will find that each scene is assigned to a locality, which is not even enclosed in square brackets: "Another part of the wood" makes its over-familiar appearance for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; in the introduction to *Antony and Cleopatra* we are told that "division into Scenes and indications of localities . . . need not worry reader or producer". Stage-directions not in the copy-text are similarly inserted without warning. Although the collation would appear to a casual reader to be full enough, it has noticeable shortcomings. There appears to be little attempt to record punctuation-variants where the copy-text makes more than one interpretation possible; the choice of editions cited is haphazard, with a chosen reading assigned to a twentieth-century edition when (to take examples only from the first Act of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*) Capell or Steevens has anticipated the form used, or (from the same Act of the same play) assigned to Capell when the Second Folio is the originator; sometimes the authority for the chosen reading is omitted altogether, a mere indication being given that some other editions have different readings; sometimes a string of editions, arranged in no discernible order, and chosen on no discernible principle, are given as warrant for the reading used; the source of the reading in the text is not given immediately after the lemma, but has to be searched for among the variants quoted; there is in places no collation note for a reading which has proved contentious. Nowhere has Munro indicated the principles governing his method of collation, and one can only feel surprise that he will trouble to indicate at times the use of elided or non-elided forms in other editions, while neglecting more notable substantive variants. It might be argued that collation is a matter only for a minority of readers and that defects in this

regard do not radically affect an edition's usefulness, but in *The London Shakespeare* explanatory annotation is not separated from collation—with the result that there is not even ease of reference to one or the other, and that every reader desiring elucidation of the text has his attention drawn to a haphazardly assembled and oddly arranged piece of textual apparatus. General readers are not likely to find much use or interest in this, and will be the more discouraged from a proper use of, and respect for, a more carefully considered form of collation.

The introductions preceding each of the plays contain a good deal of shrewd assessment, as well as information, in their brief compass. It is pleasant to read, concerning certain attempts to impose a thesis on *The Merchant of Venice*, that "Such unifying ideas could hardly have been an object to a working dramatist bent on dramatising a story", and, with similar reference to *Measure for Measure*, "The characters themselves and their actions and destinies are, in drama, the foremost consideration". Yet Munro's work in many instances seems to have stopped short of some important contributions of recent years. The account of *Love's Labour's Lost* might have been written a considerable while ago, showing no hint of the play's current higher placing. This may be partly due to the editor's apparent indifference to Shakespearian performances: a notable shortcoming of the edition is the total absence of stage-history. There is no mention of Miss Mary Lancelles's book on *Measure for Measure*, and on this play Munro is content to reiterate the worn argument that the troth-plight between Angelo and Mariana renders the Duke's bed-trick respectable. On *Pericles* the textual enquiries of Mr. Philip Edwards are left out of account. On *The Winter's Tale* the theories concerning revision or alteration of plan during composition, resulting in Hermione's survival, are passed silently by. So, too, the work of A. P. Rossiter on *Richard III* and his edition of *Woodstock* (a play that Munro of course mentions in relation to *Richard II*), that of Professor M. A. Shaaber and Professor R. A. Law on *Henry IV*, that of Professor Rufus Putney on *Venus and Adonis* (badly needed here to correct Munro's rather solemn presentation of the poem), that of Professor J. W. Lever on the Sonnets, that of Professor Heinrich Straumann on *The Phoenix and the Turtle*—are all unmentioned. Oddly, too, the only New Arden volumes referred to are those of *Lear* and *Macbeth*. In several of these instances the date of publication of the work overlooked was near to that of Munro's death, but for some of the plays his survey of criticism stops short a good deal earlier than that. The resultant time-lag is the more noticeable and disturbing in that there is frequent and careful mention of a number of critics of the earliest years of this century who seem, from the standpoint of the publication-year, to be given a good deal more than their due.

Apart from such omissions, one is struck by the sanguine tone of much of the writing. This can show itself in textual comment: the massed entries used in the Folio texts of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *The Winter's Tale* are described merely as being "in the continental manner favoured by Jonson," which is to disregard a notable difference. Problems of dating are sometimes taken in a careless stride: *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is assigned to "in or about 1595," while (with no hint of puzzlement at the juxtaposition) *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is given "a tentative date of 1595". But it is in critical observations that Munro appears most relaxed. For him the Helena of *All's Well* shows only "virtue and love"; we are assured that Shakespeare's audience "would understand completely" when the Friar-Duke in *Measure for Measure* made no mention of Christianity in his speech

to the condemned Claudius; the introduction to *Cymbeline* ends with so eloquent a paean for Imogen that at least some readers may wonder how much further the Shakespeare scholars of our age have it in mind to put back the clock; Hamlet's easy despatching of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern is pardoned because in Belleforest they were not ignorant that they carried the Prince's death-warrant (although on the next page Munro rightly rebukes those critics who base their judgment of a character's behavior on source-material which the dramatist has not used); the problem of Macbeth's responsibility is disposed of by means of a quotation from Dante on the subject; "triumph" and "transfiguration" are too easily, and without hint of qualification, introduced to characterize the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra.

To this edition Dr. Wickham has contributed a general introduction of thirty pages, covering in particular the record of the poet's life and the kind of theatre for which he wrote. As we would expect from Dr. Wickham, there is useful and stimulating comment on the stage, though he may be a shade too decided in his statement that in an Elizabethan performance "The action ran unbroken", and a shade too ready to generalize in declaring that the moralities appealed to "more literate audiences" than the miracles. On the biographical side he is inclined to bring back the industrious apprentice of Sir Sidney Lee: this goes to the point of a categorical denial of any financial trouble for John Shakespeare (which may indeed be the case, but might be put more cautiously) and of a firm statement that "no breath of scandal" attaches to his son's name (which is to pass over *Willobie his Avis* with a perhaps deserved but slightly cavalier contempt).

For scholars the edition is not strict enough in its procedures or discriminating enough in its summaries of critical comment on the plays. For the general reader it will be often misleading, though one must readily grant that the concise assembling of the facts concerning publication and source-material will have value. Munro was exceptionally well-versed in the Shakespeare scholarship of years not long past, and his store of knowledge is here made available. But the editorial task to-day involves more than the providing of information and the choice of an attractive typography.

University of Durham

CLIFFORD LEECH

*Irony in the Drama.* By ROBERT BOIES SHARPE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [1959]. Pp. [xvi] + 222. \$5.00.

Professor Sharpe begins with fundamentals. "Drama consists in literary pieces framed for action upon a stage." A play consists basically of impersonation, action, and dialogue, but the greatest of these is impersonation. Indeed "Drama is impersonation." And the actor's form of impersonation is basically ironic, for on the stage he is a seeming, a someone other than himself and yet himself; the audience is, in spite of "artistic faith", aware of his pretending; and the actor does not wish the audience to believe that he *is* the person he impersonates. And this, the author thinks, is ironic. Thus through a study of impersonation in the drama one may come to a deeper understanding of irony and, conversely (I had almost said "ironically"), of the drama itself. The purpose of the book is to enable the reader to find out "the artistic reasonableness of such phenomena of the world's drama as dramatic irony, 'convoluted' impersonation, and the employment of the horrible and shocking . . . and to find a reasonable relation between some or all of these phenomena and the mysterious psychological process Aristotle called catharsis."

Definitions and purposes set forth, the author examines the various levels of impersonation: first the actor impersonates Falstaff, we will say; then he impersonates Falstaff's impersonation of King Henry; and then he may conceivably impersonate Falstaff as the King impersonating Prince Hal. Within each of these levels are numerous refinements or variations whereby the play is enriched—all ironic. He next considers various forms of irony appearing in plays: dramatic irony (the commonly known technique by which the audience is "let in on" something the characters are unaware of), straight irony (sarcasm), and the irony of fate. These appear in numerous ways and in varied shades. But all are based, like the metaphysical conceit, on "a feeling accompanying the simultaneous perception of contradictory truths".

To demonstrate these levels and their ironies the author devotes a chapter to Shakespeare. Here he finds Dowden's four periods convenient in showing the poet's development as ironist: (1) the acceptance of aesthetic and moral standards of others, (2) the development of his own standards, (3) the questioning of his own standards, and (4) the final chastened period of compassionate, modified acceptance of the standards of the second period. In this last the poet developed the highest of ironies, "the harmonizing of the apparent ironies of life". (In this part Mr. Sharpe has found G. W. Knight, Derek Traversi, and S. L. Bethell most helpful.) The chapter sketches, play by play and teasingly briefly, Shakespeare's development as ironist as parallel with his development as artist. It is the one chapter devoted wholly to one playwright.

The remaining chapters are taken up with a study of the cathartic process, in both tragedy and comedy, as brought about by shock (horrors, violence, etc.) and with a treatment of such ironic materials as are used in modern drama. The process is attained, especially for tragedy, through a series of nine steps which develop in the audience increased tension with each step: "hypnotic rhythm, introduction of the hero, ominous images of doom, empathy produced through the hero's struggles, horror-shock, hybris or elation before catastrophe, the hero's becoming a symbol, the hero's death, and finally the purgation-elevation catharsis." Not all of these appear in all tragedies, ancient or modern. A parallel process may be observed in comedy, though it is far less well developed. Most modern playwrights, we are told, being fearful of the mechanical contrivance of the well-made play, disregard one of their finest devices—dramatic irony—or use it rather incidentally, and their plays suffer as a result. Yet they have probed the psyche and exploited the ironies of the social order effectively. Considerable attention is given to Shaw, Anderson, O'Neill, Miller, and Williams; none to Molnar, Eliot, or Fry.

Perhaps the book is too compact. One feels this especially in the chapter on Shakespeare. To summarize in thirty pages Shakespeare's use of irony, even though the author can assume the readers' detailed knowledge of the plays, is to lose too much. The few details possible in the space serve to make hungry where most they satisfy. One of the greatest values in this sort of criticism lies in the insights revealed in the discussions of particulars. Perhaps the wiser choice would have been a detailed discussion of the ironies involving impersonation in one play of each of the four periods and a doubling of the space devoted to Shakespeare—this especially because of the fascinatingly perceptive treatments, elsewhere than in the chapter on Shakespeare, of *King Lear* and *1 Henry IV*. Such analysis as G. G. Sedgewick gives to *Othello* (*Of Irony, Especially in Drama*, Toronto, 1935) would seem a *propos*.

Some readers may also object to the breadth of the concept of the ironic, especially as it here relates to impersonation. The play, being read, does not

involve impersonation, except in the reader's mind. If, moreover, irony is basic to impersonation, which is a kind of *imitation*, is not the concept equally applicable to other forms of literature and art? We come here dangerously close to another irony: that our search for the *sine qua non* will lead us to a distinguishing characteristic which does not distinguish. An even greater irony may lie in plucking out the heart of the art's mystery. As for ironies, certainly the drama lends itself most naturally to their breeding and cultivation. Their essence lies in intellectual or moral blindness on the part of the impersonator, and they involve reversal, the "backfire". Probably Hamlet made the best observation upon the basic irony of art in his "rogue and peasant slave" soliloquy—a speech unmentioned by the author.

As with any worthy and thoughtful book, the questionings might continue. The wonder is, rather, that there can be so much agreement in such a controversial area. Professor Sharpe has packed his study with rich observations and wise reflections. His discussion of the levels of impersonation is enlightening and, as a means for enriching our stage productions, deserve the dramatist's attention. The playwright is also well instructed to forget the excesses of the well-made play and turn again to dramatic irony as a sound device. Numerous incidental remarks are effective, such as that on the absurdity of "living in the present". The style seldom lags. Mostly it moves gracefully; now and then it is appropriately eloquent. And the author commendably keeps his eye on the stage as he writes; he remembers that plays are written to be performed. For the boldness of the scope of the work he is likewise to be commended: from Aeschylus to Williams. Yet probably more than half of the illustrations are drawn from Shakespeare, properly enough, and the analysis of the ironies in the role of Edgar in *Lea*r is especially perceptive. The full discussion of the vexed subject of catharsis, especially the significance of irony in its accomplishments, will doubtless prompt more discussion, which will be all to the good. It is notable, likewise, and commendable that Professor Sharpe has shown so effectively that great tragedy can be Christian—indeed the very greatest. Hope at least is necessary to catharsis. Neither Hamlet nor his play ended with "The rest is silence", and for Samson there are no tears.

University of Kentucky

THOMAS B. STROUP

*The Structure of 'Julius Caesar'.* By ADRIEN BONJOUR. Liverpool University Press, 1958. Pp. [viii] + 81. 12s 6d.

For some years now it has been fashionable among critics to minimize or even reject Julius Caesar as a hero in the Shakespearian tragedy that bears his name. In the present brief but suggestive study Professor Bonjour, approximating the position taken earlier by Dowden and Sir Mark Hunter, argues that Caesar must be regarded as at least the equal of Brutus in a double tragedy "combining and condensing the drama of both great characters into one majestic sweep". Shakespeare, he believes, here abandoned "the usual single hero structure" and "made of *Julius Caesar* the drama of divided sympathies".

The first of the three chapters ("in the form of lectures") which develop this thesis is concerned with the general structure of the play. Professor Bonjour seeks to show that there is in this tragedy not a conflict of abstract political ideals and symbols alone, but also a conflict of human beings. He emphasizes the latter as the heart of the tragedy. To this end he assembles evidence from the play which convinces him that Shakespeare intended to show Caesar, despite the epilepsy, the deafness, and the superstition, as admirable and even



heroic in purely human terms. His fall, then, is to be construed as tragic in the personal as well as in the political sense. The parallel tragedy of Brutus, Professor Bonjour continues, must be similarly conceived of in personal terms. Howsoever pure his political motives, Brutus commits a crime against the laws of God and nature when he murders another human being, and he must pay the tragic price of conscience and death. As Professor Bonjour puts it, "... the personal wrong he did to Caesar, much more than Caesarism, determines the great reflux, seals the fate of the conspirators, and leads Brutus to his fall".

Chapter I contains the heart of Professor Bonjour's argument. To supplement this he turns, in Chapter II, to "The Structural Role of Motives". These might perhaps more accurately be termed *leitmotifs*. At the outset he considers "Superstition" in the play, concluding that, like the Elizabethans, we should take this element seriously and not, like moderns, as detracting from Caesar's human greatness. He then examines the theme of "Suicide", in premonition and in fact, as further evidence of Brutus' tragic expiation for his "transgression of a natural human law". Finally, he considers "Sleep and Slumber", the absence of which in Brutus' life before and after the assassination attests, as it does in *Macbeth*, the deeply moral and human nature of his crime against a fellow man. In his last chapter, "Structural Imagery", Professor Bonjour draws upon the techniques of the New Critics for further development of his thesis, finding in the recurrent imagery involving the "stand-fall" antithesis support for his conclusion that "two 'mighty opposites' are in turn destined to stand high and then to lie..."

Professor Bonjour's study is illuminating and helpful in its main argument, particularly as this is developed in the first chapter. His reading of the play takes into useful account the whole body of modern commentary on *Julius Caesar*; indeed, one of the values of his book is the survey of criticism and scholarship which it provides in its ample notes. Given, in addition, his own judicious and perceptive insights, the book should serve well to redirect our attention to the titular hero of the tragedy.

In making his point about Caesar as hero, however, Professor Bonjour provokes some questions of the kind that must inevitably accompany an insistently pressed thesis. For example, in his eagerness to defend Caesar against Dover Wilson's charges of tyranny does he perhaps go too far in the direction of forcing on Caesar personal attributes that few critics and fewer audiences have recognized? Again, Caesar's superstition may not be "sheer weakness", and it may indeed be very human, but that Shakespeare should choose this element, deafness, and falling sickness as his points of emphasis in the portrayal of the character is not convincing evidence of his intention to present Caesar as a hero in the personal sense of the term. This tendency to force the issue is particularly distracting in the final chapter on imagery. When Professor Bonjour discovers significant antithesis, for example, in Antony's reference to tears that "*stand*" in the eyes of a servant who subsequently announces that Octavius "*lies*" near Rome, one feels that perhaps the New Criticism can indeed, as he himself wryly observes, "court every sort of freak interpretation".

Such interpretation does little to enhance a study that is otherwise worthy of the most serious consideration by students of *Julius Caesar* and the art of Shakespeare in general.

University of California, Los Angeles

JAMES E. PHILLIPS



*The Pelican Shakespeare*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1958 and 1959. General ed., ALFRED HARBAGE. *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. VIRGIL K. WHITAKER. Pp. [160]. Sixty-five cents. *King Lear*, ed. ALFRED HARBAGE. Pp. [190]. Sixty-five cents. *Twelfth Night*, ed. CHARLES T. PROUTY. Pp. [128]. Fifty cents. *The Tempest*, ed. NORTHROP FRYE. Pp. [112]. Fifty cents.

Fifteen of Shakespeare's plays have now appeared in the familiar and attractive format of the Pelican Shakespeare. The general reader and the student equally welcome these latest additions to the flock: the same high editorial standards of the previous volumes are maintained, the introductions retain their pertinence, and the notes footing the page, rather than being exiled to keep terminal company with publishers' advertisements, are unobtrusively informative. American Shakespearians can well take pride in this series.

With each of the introductions, one feels only a regret that the editor must be confined, by the limitations of the volume, to so few pages: each of them is an able prologue to the play. Of the four introductions here, Professor Harbage's is the most impressive, even moving, in its discussion of the allegory of *Lear*; but all of them are far more than satisfactory. It would be cavilling to object to Professor Whitaker's statement that "the lover of Shakespeare must know *Troilus and Cressida* thoroughly, or he does not know Shakespeare at all." Could not this be said of any of the plays? Professor Prouty's introduction to *Twelfth Night* includes what appears to be a supererogatory discussion of Barnaby Riche's *Farewell to Militaristic Profession*, particularly when he admits that his treatment of this complex problem has been "all too brief" and that "Riche and Shakespeare regard the story of the 'leishe of lovers' from quite different points of view." Should he then devote one-third of his space to it? And one doubts, although Professor Frye does not, whether the setting of *The Tempest*, "an island somewhere between Tunis and Naples, suggests the journey of Aeneas from Carthage to Rome". But to emphasize such minor objections is to overlook the real service of these introductions: to inform a new reader and to remind an old one of the delights that are to follow.

It seems, however, that except for one paragraph in John Russell Brown's notice of three previous Pelicans in this journal (VIII, 550-551), reviewers of this series have not commented upon the text. The general prospectus declares that each "text follows the most authoritative early version available, departing in its readings only where emendation is essential and justified." Here, then, we can expect a conservatively edited text, and, for those readers of this review who will not stay for an answer, our expectations are justified. In *The Tempest*, a text that presents few problems, Professor Frye departs from his Folio copy-text in only eleven places: I.i.61 (where a possible variant spelling is not noticed), I.ii.100, I.ii.248, I.ii.380, II.i.62 (where the departure from the Folio is not noted), II.i.90, III.i.15, III.ii.119, III.iii.29, IV.i.7, IV.i.13. Few readers can find fault with these departures; each of them, save the two parenthesized above, are duly recorded in the footnotes. He retains in six places the Folio reading where less conservative editors might rush in to emend: I.ii.146, I.ii.200, II.i.121, II.i.164, IV.i.3, V.i.39. Happily, in addition, he has retained *scamels* at II.ii.168, still another editor's service to a ghost-word; its quaint challenge should insure its survival.

Less conservative is his handling of the Folio punctuation, particularly as to Ralph Crane's ubiquitous parentheses. Some of these he retains, others he discards. An extreme example of his practice may be seen at I.ii.427 where the Folio reads "(Which I do last pronounce) is (O you wonder)" and this text "Which I do last pronounce, is (O you wonder!)". One Folio speech assignment is unnecessarily changed: at II.i.36-37, the Folio's assignment can be

retained if "laughter" (line 33), proposed by Antonio as the wager, is taken to mean "a setting of eggs". Thus when Adrian, "the cock'rel", breaks silence before Gonzalo, "the old cock", Antonio wins the bet, and Sebastian pays it off with laughter—"Ha, ha, ha!"

The textual conservatism is evident in Professor Prouty's edition of *Twelfth Night*, an uncomplicated text. But where Professor Frye duly notes his departures, Professor Prouty does not. Thus we have silent emendation at I.ii.15, I.iii.88, I.iii.122, II.ii.30, II.ii.31, II.iv.52, II.iv.87, II.v.133, III.i.62, III.i.66, III.iv.64, a total of eleven departures, not including some ambiguous variant spellings. One misses the usual stage direction for Sir Toby of "belches" or "hiccups" at I.v.115; and Maria should be given "exit" at III.iv.13 so that she may return with Malvolio two lines later. At IV.i.28, the Clown's exit should be within square brackets; it is editorially supplied.

Professor Whitaker likewise silently emends the more complicated text of *Troilus*: a few of the variant readings of the Quarto and the Folio ought to be recorded—see, for example, II.i.13 (Q "unsalted", F "whinid'st", this edition "vinewed'st"), V.i.52-55, and V.ii.139-140. At other places, as well he must, he supplies single words from the Folio where the Quarto copy-text is undoubtedly corrupt: at III.iii.265, III.iii.271, and V.ii.54. This text, more than the two preceding ones, poses a problem in distinguishing additions supplied by the Folio from editorial additions. For example, at V.iv.16 and 24, these two stage directions appear: "[Enter Diomedes and Troilus]" and "[Exeunt Troilus and Diomedes, fighting]". The first is supplied by the Folio, the second is supplied by the editor, yet here they appear in the same form. It is impossible under this conventional system to distinguish the editor's addition from one that is, if not really authentic, at least closer to that ideal.

In the most complex text of them all, Professor Harbage maintains the conservatism of the series; he clearly states that his text "follows the chosen text [the Folio] more closely than do most recent editions." Where, for example, Duthie accepts 156 Quarto readings, Harbage accepts 52. But, for those who wish to have the substantive variants recorded, Professor Harbage has eight pages of them appended to the text. And he marks those Quarto readings which "seem to the present editor best able to compete with the folio readings when judged from a purely literary point of view." Even at the risk of presumption, one might disagree with the editor's choices, but one has the list of variants and thus need not be a reader of a silently emended text. One trusts that the practice of including a textual appendix, as given to us here by the general editor of the series, will be continued in successive volumes.

And why, one might ask, should we worry about the textual problems? All editors must. They are the transmitters of the text, and in their office as editors they must attempt to arrive as nearly as possible at what their author wrote. And if the proof is not positive, they should share with us, their readers, the possibilities of variation. In this series, a reader need not fear an eccentric editorial policy: it can be strengthened, however, by the kind of textual attention that Professors Frye and Harbage share with us.

University of Virginia

I. B. CAUTHEN, JR.

*Shakespeare and The Faerie Queene*. By ABBIE FINDLAY POTTS. Cornell University Press, 1958. Pp. xiv + 269. \$4.50.

*The Faerie Queene*, according to Professor Potts,<sup>1</sup> supplied Shakespeare richly with images, characters, situations, and—most important—ethical patterns of thought and action. Since she discovers little evidence of Spenserian influence in the plays written before 1599 and a great deal in the plays written after that date, she concludes that Shakespeare read *The Faerie Queene* closely at about the turn of the century. The Spenserian influence she finds especially strong during the years 1600 to 1604.

A summary of her treatment of *Twelfth Night* (pp. 54-63) will illustrate her methods and her discoveries. The influence of Spenser's Book of Courtesy, she believes, pervades this play. Its action effects an amelioration of incivility in several characters. Spenser's Sir Calidore is "the prototype of Shakespeare's Cesario". The haughtily uncivil Briana is reincarnated in Shakespeare's Olivia. Cesario, after enduring highly discourteous treatment upon his first visit to Olivia's house, softens her arrogant pride by winning her heart just as Calidore prevails over Briana's rudeness by teaching her civilized conduct. In Malvolio Shakespeare has incorporated suggestions from various Spenserian persons. Briana's offensive seneschal Maleffort, for example, has contributed "the first syllable of [Malvolio's] name, and his nature". Disdaine has suggested his proud strut and his withering stare. Disdaine, moreover, wears a jacket "quilted richly rare / Vpon checklaton" which "justifies Malvolio's equally fantastic and elaborate cross-gartering upon yellow stockings". Shakespeare's Sebastian is related to Spenser's Tristram. (Tristram's darts and boarspeare must have "reminded Shakespeare of St. Sebastian of the arrows"; thus the name of Shakespeare's character.) Shakespeare's Orsino ("little bear") is Spenser's Sir Bruin; on several occasions Orsino exhibits "bearishness". Both of these young gentlemen are "deficient rather than deformed", not yet educated to true courtliness. Other characters of *Twelfth Night* resemble other persons of Spenser's sixth book.

In later plays moral meanings become even plainer than in *Twelfth Night*, and Shakespeare's "ethical action" in every case follows an outline which he could have learned from Spenser. The principal task demanded of both Hamlet and Troilus is the repair of a corrupted state. For both, the principal impediment to honorable action is "intemperance on its defective side" (p. 122). Both heroes undergo an ordeal from which they emerge "enlightened and invigorated" (p. 121) to assume, however briefly, the responsibilities of a prince. The author sees a rough parallel between Troilus' story and Guyon's. Hamlet repeats experiences of various characters of *The Faerie Queene*: Prince Arthur, the Redcrosse Knight, Guyon, and Artegall. The minor characters in these two plays likewise have antecedents in Spenser's poem. The Othello-Desdemona story resembles, both in its events and in its ethical significance, the story of the Redcrosse Knight's alienation from Una by the deceptions of Archimago.

Professor Potts deals with the possible Spenserian elements in all of Shakespeare's plays composed after 1599.

Among the many instances of correspondence that she points out, there are few of which one can positively say: There can be no causal relation here. It is quite possible that Book V of *The Faerie Queene* "furnishes—at least it, too, exhibits—the leading metaphorical images, counterfeit coin and tottering bal-

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare and The Faerie Queene* supplements rather than repeats W. B. C. Watkins' *Shakespeare and Spenser* (Princeton, 1950). Evidently Professor Potts began her Shakespeare-Spenser studies long before the publication of Watkins' book.

ance, upon which Shakespeare conducts" the action of *Measure for Measure* (p. 153). Cumulatively, however, these very numerous possibilities are not convincing. No one doubts that Spenser influenced Shakespeare. But if Spenser contributed as abundantly to Shakespeare's plays as the author suggests, Shakespeare must have had as intimate and detailed a knowledge of *The Faerie Queene* as she herself has and must have written in relative insulation from other possible influences.

Many of the parallels which she points out, however, are to be taken as "mythic resemblances and not to be precisely equated" (p. 62). She does not, in any case, claim that her thesis "is reducible to a clear and authoritative statement of proof" (p. 232). She has carefully recorded "Such similarity as exists" (p. 233) and leaves to subsequent investigators the evaluation of her conclusions.

The author has a good deal to say, especially in her last chapter, concerning the ethical and formal patterns of Shakespeare's plays. The reader may not always agree that Shakespeare learned these patterns from Spenser, but he will find her discussion of them consistently revealing or provocative.

Michigan State University

LAWRENCE BABB

*The Pageant of Elizabethan England.* By ELIZABETH BURTON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959. Pp. 276. \$3.95.

Miss Burton's account of life in Elizabethan England is one of several books published in England in 1958 to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the accession of Queen Elizabeth I. It is perhaps not so weighty a book as Elizabeth Jenkins' biography of the Queen, now a best-seller; certainly it is not in the same category with Sir John Neale's *Essays in Elizabethan History*. The Elizabethan specialist will scarcely find anything new here. Within the limited scope of her book, however, Miss Burton has provided entertaining reading for that chimera, the general reader, and for curious undergraduates.

Of the nine main chapters of this small volume, the author seems most at ease in those two in which she discusses houses and furniture. She reminds us that farmhouses and cottages naturally used the available local material: black granite in Cornwall, golden and rosy limestone in the Cotswolds, weatherboarding in Herefordshire, and cob (mud, gravel, and straw) in Devon. She also points out that because of extensive restorations there is in London today not a single purely Elizabethan house. Miss Burton believes that Elizabethans, who "had more money than taste", lacked subtlety in their pageants and masques, overemphasizing and grossly distorting, and that this trait appears in the design of the furniture of the period, replete with repetitive and flamboyant ornamentation. She further takes the Elizabethans to task for introducing that hideous piece of furniture, the wardrobe, which is still the bane of the traveler in England.

Miss Burton's intention is not to present a full pageant of Elizabethan life, but only those aspects which can be illustrated by artifacts, much as we reconstruct Egyptian civilization, and by domestic details which portray the lighter side of everyday life. Thus, after a general introduction and the chapters just mentioned, the remaining chapters in the book tell of food, illnesses, pastimes, silver and other ornaments, gardens, and cosmetics. We are amused by a contemporary description of a gift from Sir John Harington to the Queen: "a crystal bowl, not round; without a cover; slightly garnished with gold and . . . broken". We are not surprised to learn that even in Elizabeth's time there were thirteen varieties of cabbage and colewort which might appear on the

dinner table. We are told that although nearly one hundred and twenty-five new flowers were introduced from abroad, the favorites of the Elizabethans were roses and carnations. And we are reminded of the trick fountains at Whitehall and Hampton Court which could drench the unwary.

In a work as unpretentious as this one, it is doubtless a piece of supererogation to catalogue faults. There are, however, a few errors of fact, and some surmises presented as facts, which should be noted. Miss Burton identifies tetter with ringworm, whereas it may better be equated with a more generalized term like skin disease. I doubt very much that she is correct in stating that the middle and upper classes understood the alchemical jargon in Jonson. When John Dee is called Elizabeth's "pet astrologer and alchemist", we might grant the former term but not the latter. It is regrettable, too, that Miss Burton continues the fallacious belief that Elizabeth was bald, even surmising that the baldness was the result of the Queen's bout with the smallpox. Miss Elizabeth Jenkins has argued well that Elizabeth probably had her hair at least until 1599: the lock of greying red hair preserved at Wilton is supposed to have been given to Sidney in 1572 or later; in 1596 Elizabeth was offended when the Bishop of St. David's injudiciously remarked in a sermon that "time had sowed meal upon her hair"; and when Essex burst into her bedroom in September of 1599, according to the contemporary account, he found her with "her hair about her ears"; certainly baldness is not to be inferred merely because the Queen wore wigs. But even Miss Burton will be dismayed to discover that among the materials shipped from Antwerp for Sir Thomas Gresham's Royal Exchange there was a "statute of the Queen herself".

Miss Burton writes in a colloquial style, with enthusiastic verve and go, of an age which she patently loves. Perhaps through this book some readers will be led into broader and deeper paths.

*The Rice Institute*

CARROLL CAMDEN

## Queries and Notes

### A NEW LINE OF DIALOGUE IN ROMEO AND JULIET

GEORGE WALTON WILLIAMS

In the climactic duel scene of *Romeo and Juliet* III. i, Tybalt leaves the stage after killing Mercutio (l. 93). For his exit the first quarto (1597)—a reported text—has the descriptive direction: "*Tibalt vnder Romeos arme thrusts Mercutio, in and flyes.*" On the other hand, the second quarto (1599)—based on a Shakespearian manuscript—has as the corresponding direction: "*Away Tybalt*", set in the center of the page.<sup>1</sup> The third quarto (set from the second) adjusts the position by moving "*Away Tybalt*" to the right-hand margin, and the first folio (set from the third quarto) emends "*Away Tybalt*" to "*Exit Tybalt*". Editors have generally utilized the first quarto direction or some adaptation of it, presumably because it is descriptive and colorful. But Sir Walter Greg has suggested in *The Shakespeare First Folio* (p. 230) that the line "*Away Tybalt*" is not a direction but a speech by the otherwise mute Petruchio, Tybalt's companion.<sup>2</sup> (See Illustrative Texts below.)

The words admittedly constitute an anomaly. They make sense as a direction, though editors have not seen fit to revive them as such, satisfied with the first quarto direction. Similarly, they make sense as a speech, but again editors have not seen fit to use the expression as a speech, overwhelmed by the weight of tradition. The matter is perhaps beyond final proof, but the following inquiry may suggest the more likely of the two possibilities.

It must be allowed at once in an examination of the line that on the standards of the second quarto Tybalt's exit does not require a direction; the dialogue—as regularly in Shakespeare—provides the necessary information. Mercutio asks, "Is he [Tybalt] gone?" and reader, actor, and bookkeeper need no further clue to the correct movement. There is no direction in the quarto for Tybalt's reentry thirty lines later; Benvolio says, "Here comes the furious *Tybalt* backe againe", and we know what action is taking place. The exit direction is as unessential at line 93 in the second quarto as it is in some twenty other lines in the quarto where exit directions that are customarily supplied in modern editions are lacking.<sup>3</sup>

Editors have been silent on their reasons for regarding the two words as a direction and emending them, but presumably the most telling consideration

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the second quarto and the relationship with the first quarto see my dissertation, "*The Good Quarto of Romeo and Juliet*" (University of Virginia, 1957).

<sup>2</sup> The character, significantly, is a mute not a ghost. He is identified by the Nurse at I. v. 133 as one of the guests at Capulet's feast. His entry is specified with Tybalt at III. i. 37 S.D. ("*Enter Tybalt, Petruchio, and others.*") and Tybalt evidently speaks to him at III. i. 40.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., A2 (Pro. 14), B3<sup>v</sup> (I. ii. 86), B4 (I. ii. 106), C4<sup>v</sup> (I. v. 129), D1 (Pro. 14), D3<sup>v</sup> (II. ii. 138), D4<sup>v</sup> (II. ii. 187), E4<sup>v</sup> (II. iv. 228), F1 (II. v. 20), F2 (II. vi. 37), H2 (III. iii. 164), I2 (III. v. 234), I4 (IV. ii. 10), K1<sup>v</sup> (IV. iii. 58, iv. 20), K2 (IV. iv. 27), L1 (V. i. 84), L2<sup>v</sup> (V. iii. 71), L4 (V. iii. 173, 178).



has been the metrical one. If the two words are edited as a direction the short lines before and after the direction scan as a regular decasyllabic: "Hold, Tybalt! Good Mercutio!" "I am hurt."<sup>4</sup> This is an argument of some weight, but it is of less weight than editors have supposed. It might be significant if there were any reason to expect a regular decasyllabic here, but the lineation of the scene up to this point has been as much prose and irregular verse as it has been decasyllabic. In lines 85 to 100, between two long prose speeches, we find a passage of short lines, broken verse, and prose. In this passage three lines only are regular, the remaining ten being submetrical or supermetrical or prose. Should this hypothecated line be regular it would be abnormal in context, not normal.

Some critics will say nevertheless that the presence of the decasyllabic resulting from the omission of the words "Away Tybalt" is too remarkable a matter to be coincidental. It is so remarkable a coincidence that it may be found four times in this very scene. If, for example, we omit lines 87, 93b, or 135b we shall similarly produce of the adjacent short lines acceptably scanning decasyllabics.<sup>5</sup> What appears at first sight to be truly remarkable, is found to be fairly common.

Finally, it would seem fruitless to suppose that regularity of scansion would be at all observable in the violent and protracted action including the intervals requisite for sword play in this particular sequence.

But if the expression is a direction, two difficulties occur. In the first place the word "Away" as the equivalent of "Exit" is unusual. So far as I have observed from a search in substantive editions of Shakespearian plays, the word is never used in this particular sense in a direction by Shakespeare. It is also a unique form for the compositor who set this page, Creede's Compositor A. I have found no use of "Away" as the equivalent of "Exit" in any of the plays set by this compositor.<sup>6</sup>

In the second place, the position of the two words on the page is quite extraordinary. There is no comparable centered exit direction in Q2 *Romeo and Juliet*; all 39 exit directions in the quarto stand near the right-hand margin of the page.<sup>7</sup> In the eleven plays set by this same compositor prior to *Romeo and Juliet*, I count well over three hundred exit directions; of these, only ten percent are centered on the page. And of the ten percent, four only are comparable in length to "Away Tybalt"; the others are directions including full descriptions or the names of many characters.<sup>8</sup> It is apparently not the practice of this compositor to set his exit directions—particularly his brief directions—in the center of the page. Hence we may assume that some factor influenced him to depart from his normal habit and to set these words in the column of dialogue. We can probably now not determine that factor, but I suggest that it concerned

<sup>4</sup> H. R. Hoppe, G. L. Kittredge, C. J. Sisson, Peter Alexander, and J. Dover Wilson in their editions print "I am hurt" as the conclusion of the line of verse; Richard Hosley regards it as prose.

<sup>5</sup> "I am for you." "Come sir, your Passado."

"Away Tybalt." "A plague a both houses."

"Shalt with him hence." "*Romeo*, away be gone."

<sup>6</sup> For an analysis of this compositor see my dissertation and my article with Paul L. Cantrell, "The Printing of *Romeo and Juliet* Q2 (1599), "SB, IX (1957), 107-128.

<sup>7</sup> By "comparable" I mean consisting of two units only: the verb form and its subject (one word).

<sup>8</sup> *First Part of the Contention*, H2\*, H3; *Famous Victories of Henry V*, D1; *Clyomon and Clamydes*, F4\*.

the location of the words on the manuscript copy and that that location depended on the fact that the words were a speech.

As the expression is extraordinary as a direction in both wording and location and as the metrical argument has been seen to be weak, we may justifiably inquire whether the words may be a speech. Clearly there is no semantic objection to this possibility. The words make sense as a speech; "Away" stands as an equivalent to such an imperative as "Come away". Exact analogies for the imperative "Away!" are readily found in other Shakespearian plays,<sup>9</sup> but perhaps the most telling one occurs in this scene. The command, "Away Tybalt", probably spoken by Tybalt's companion, Petruchio, occurs immediately after Tybalt has killed Mercutio; forty lines later immediately after Romeo has killed Tybalt occurs the command spoken by Romeo's friend, Benvolio, "Romeo, away." The parallel between the two commands spoken by the two seconds of the duelists is a most effective touch in this play of contrasts and anticipations.<sup>10</sup>

The objection immediately arises that if the words are a speech they lack a prefix. To be sure, this is the crux of the matter. It would seem unlikely that the compositor overlooked a prefix and deliberately produced the anomalous direction on the page; the compositor must have produced the anomaly because the prefix was lacking in the manuscript. Without a prefix the words "Away Tybalt" did not appear to him to be a speech; nor, on the other hand, did they have the markings of a direction. Therefore, he set them in a compromise fashion.<sup>11</sup>

Speeches without prefixes are found from time to time in Shakespearian quartos; generally little difficulty is encountered in supplying the proper prefix. There are several points in *Q2 Romeo and Juliet* where I believe the prefixes for the speeches of unimportant characters were lacking in the manuscript copy and were omitted by the compositor in the second quarto.<sup>12</sup> One of them is a close analogy to "Away Tybalt." The prefix is lacking for the line at V.iii.71, which is obviously a speech of Paris' page spoken on stage and is so printed by all modern editors. But it was regarded as a direction by Creede's Compositor A and was therefore set in italic type. (See Illustrative Texts below.)

The parallel is informative. Both lines are evidently without prefixes, are evidently centered in the column of dialogue in the manuscript, and are evidently misconstrued and mishandled by the compositor. I suggest that sharing in these peculiarities they share also in being speeches.

<sup>9</sup> 2 *Henry VI*, I. iv. 84, IV. vii. 145; *Richard III*, IV. iv. 537; *Love's Labor's Lost* I. ii. 150, 160, IV. ii. 173, IV. iii. 381, V. i. 162; *Richard II*, II. i. 296; *A Midsummer Night's Dream* II. i. 144; 1 *Henry IV*, V. iii. 28; *Twelfth Night* III. iv. 373. (These citations are a sampling from the early plays of the imperative "Away" used with the meaning "Come away". Many other lines might be noted where the expression means "Go away", but they would seem to be less pertinent to this reading.)

<sup>10</sup> The omission of the line in *Q1*, the report of a performance, may be explained by the elimination of the bit part of Petruchio (this is his only speech) as shown by the *Q1* direction at III. i. 37 ("Enter Tybalt") and the dialogue ("heere comes a Capolet"). Tybalt is unaccompanied in the duel scene; his line addressed to his friend (see note 2 above) is cut also.

<sup>11</sup> We may always suppose that the words were added in the margin as an afterthought.

<sup>12</sup> The prefixes at V. iii. 272 and 281, I conceive, were lacking in the manuscript copy behind *Q2* and were supplied by the compositor by consulting *Q1*. The prefixes are strangely identical in both prints.

A review of the evidence suggests that if the words "*Away Tybalt*" are unsatisfactory to all editors as a direction, are unessential as a direction in the quarto style, are unique in wording, and are anomalous in position, there is no necessity to think that they are a direction. Further, the only reason for rejecting them as a speech is the metrical one, which has been shown to have less authority than editors have supposed. The arguments for the restoration of the line to the dialogue are based on less controvertible evidence. This evidence is of four kinds: theatrical—Shakespeare nowhere positively uses "*Away*" as equal to "*Exit*"; linguistic—Shakespeare frequently uses "*Away*" imperatively in dialogue to mean "*Come away*"; bibliographical—the compositor would not have centered the words on the page if they had clearly formed an exit direction; and literary—the parallel of the two commands contributes significantly to the scene and is characteristically Shakespearian. I urge then that the two words be returned to Petruchio, who has been waiting for three hundred years for something to say.

*Duke University*

Illustrative Texts from the Second Quarto (1599)

III. i.

84 sword out of his pilcher by the eares? make haste, least mine be

85 about your eares ere it be out.

*Tib.* I am for you.

*Rom.* Gentle *Mercutio*, put thy Rapier vp.

*Mer.* Come sir, your Passado.

*Rom.* Draw *Benuolio*, beate downe their weapons,

90 Gentlemen, for shame forbear this outrage,

*Tibalt*, *Mercutio*, the Prince expresly hath

Forbid this bandying in *Verona* streetes,

93a Hold *Tybalt*, good *Mercutio*.

*Away Tybalt.*

*Mer.* I am hurt.

A plague a both houses, I am sped,

95a Is he gone and hath nothing.

b *Ben.* What art thou hurt?

*Mer.* I, I, a scratch, a scratch, marrie tis inough,

Where is my Page? go villaine, fetch a Surgion.

*Ro.* Courage man, the hurt cannot be much.

*Mer.* No tis not so deepe as a well, nor so wide as a Church  
doore, but tis inough, twill serue: aske for me tomorrow, and you

V. iii

68 *Par.* I do defie thy commiration,

And apprehend thee for a Fellon here.

*Ro.* Wilt thou prouoke me? then haue at thee boy.

*O Lord they fight, I will go call the Watch.*

*Par.* O I am slaine, if thou be mercifull,

Open the Tombe, lay me with *Iuliet*.

*RICHARD III, IV. iv. 201*

ROBERT ADGER LAW

Soon after the murder of the young princes in the Tower, King Richard

approaches Elizabeth, their mother, to ask aid in winning the hand of her daughter, his own niece, in marriage. Her immediate response is

I have no more sons of the royal blood  
For thee to murder. For my daughters, Richard,  
They shall be praying nuns, not weeping queens.

(*Richard III*, IV. iv. 199-201)

Her eldest daughter, of course, came to be queen to Henry VII, whether weeping or not. But I have not seen mentioned in connection with this passage that another daughter actually became a praying nun. Yet Holinshed so states, and Shakespeare must have had the fact in mind when he wrote the line. In the first paragraph of Holinshed's chapter on the reign of Edward V, the primary source of this play, the several children of Edward IV are listed, with the following reference to his third daughter: "Briget, which representing the vertue of hir whose name she bare, professed and observed a religious life in Dertford, an house of close nunnes." (Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 1586, III, 711)

The sentence is not found in Hall's chronicle, but with slightly changed spelling has been lifted from Sir Thomas More's *Historie of Richard the Third*.

Austin, Texas

## AUTOLYCUS IN 1636

R. H. BOWERS

There is another Autolycus, a bland replica of Shakespeare's "snapper up of unconsidered trifles" (*Winter's Tale* IV. i. 26) who appears as a non-Ovidian (*Met.* xi. 312) comic and hence ineffectual robber in the still unprinted pastoral play, *The Converted Robber* (c. 1636), which is preserved uniquely in British Museum Additional MS 14,047, fol. 44<sup>v</sup>-59<sup>r</sup>. This play continues to be attributed, for no valid reason, to the playwright George Wilde, as in Harbage's useful *Annals of English Drama*, p. 110, although Greg, in 1906 (*Pastoral Poetry & Pastoral Drama*, p. 383), before providing a plot synopsis, advanced the plausible theory that this play was identical with the lost play *Stonehenge* which Anthony à Wood had stated was written by John Speed (presumably the younger [1595-1640]: see *DNB*), and acted at St. John's College, Oxford, in 1636.

It is generally agreed, I believe, that the Autolycus of *The Winter's Tale* is Shakespeare's own invention, and is depicted with considerable brio (see Bethell's *New Clarendon* edition [1956], p. 201). The mediocre lines written for the Autolycus of *The Converted Robber* sound no audible echo of Shakespeare's text, but do repeat such sentiments as a typical "fig for honesty" boast. Compare *WT* IV. iv. 606: Ha, ha! what a fool Honesty is!, with *CR*. II. 275-283 (my line numbering): Why then farewell truth and honestye,/ Enemies to Conto [his colleague] and Autolicus./ I haue a Catalogue of exploits, longer then a welch / Pedegree. I haue receaved curtesye from men of all / Sheires. I haue virtue in me (Sparcke!) I can make / an old Vsurer (whose hams are soe weake by his / penuriousnes y<sup>t</sup> they are not able to beare vp his skele-

ton) / stande: and make Thinjawes his man sup a dish of / comfortable ayre,  
and make his master pay for it.

University of Florida

FALSTAFF'S "HEAUENLIE IEWEL". INCIDENTAL  
MUSIC FOR *THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR*

JOHN P. CUTTS

Falstaff's greeting to Mistress Ford, "Haue I caught my heauenlie Iewel?"<sup>1</sup> has elicited several interesting comments. It has been generally noted that the line is the first line of a song in Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, 1591.<sup>2</sup> The Cambridge editors of the play<sup>3</sup> note that the Quarto of 1602 quotes Sidney's first line correctly. The Folio adds the word "thee" between "caught" and "my". H. C. Hart in his edition for the *Old Arden* series (London, 1932, p. 129) prefers the later reading on the grounds that "when a quotation is made in conversation it is commonly altered to suit circumstances", but does not expatiate upon Falstaff's particular circumstances.

Staunton<sup>4</sup> suggested that the players interpolated "thee" because Falstaff sang this line. Grosart<sup>5</sup> thought little of the idea, considering that the singing would argue against the interpolation, and I think in this latter respect he may be correct. However, Staunton's surmise that Falstaff may have sung<sup>6</sup> the line will now have to be given much more serious consideration because I have discovered a contemporary<sup>7</sup> setting of the song, a setting which is haunting and catching enough to allow a conjecture that it had a certain amount of popularity. It is unnecessary here to cite the numerous instances, in plays previous to 1608-9, of Shakespeare's quoting significant lines from *well-known* songs<sup>8</sup> of the day, but it may be necessary to note that he respects the musical line behind his echoes and borrowings, keeping either exact lines or lines exactly modelled to fit the tune of those he is replacing. If Falstaff sang this particular line, then he would be much more likely to sing it exactly as it occurs in its source (which the 1602 Quarto faithfully reproduces) than in the later version. The word "thee" could, of course, be squeezed into the opening musical phrase, eking out the minim G, but the "squeezed" result would not be as satisfactory as the free flowing line "Haue I caught my heauenlie Iewel?"

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. W. Greg, ed., *The Merry Wives of Windsor 1602 (Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles, no. 3, London, 1939)*. Sig. D4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Feuillerat, ed., *The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge, 1922), III, 287-288—"Other Sonnets of Variable Verse—Second Sonnet."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch; J. D. Wilson, eds., *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Howard Staunton, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare* (London, 1857-1860), I, 664.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. B. Grosart, ed., *The Complete Poems of Sir Philip Sidney (The Fuller Worthies' Library, London, 1873)*, I, 154-155.

<sup>6</sup> There is no mention of this song in the standard works on Shakespeare's music.

<sup>7</sup> B.M. Add. MS. 15117, f. 19. Cf. *infra*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. John P. Cutts, "The Original Music of a Song in *a Henry IV*", *SQ* (Autumn 1956), VII, 385-393, and "A reconsideration of the 'Willow Song'", *Journal of American Musicology* (Spring 1957), X, 14-24.

Sir John "in love", writing a loveletter; Sir John "the lover", the unchaste gallant in ecstasy at having the prize of his loose affections in front of him, might conceivably be allowed to burst forth into a love song in his great glee, and there is nothing difficult about the opening phrase of the music to cause him a moment's hesitation. As far as I am able to ascertain, there has been no attempt to assess the appropriateness or non-appropriateness of the use of this song and its text. Therefore, I present now the manuscript text, its collation with the received text, and an indication of the relevance of this song to the play.

have I Caught my heavenly Jewell, teachinge Sleepe most faire to be, nowe will I <sup>9</sup> nowe will I teache her that Shee, whyle shee wakes is to Cruell.	
Since sweete sleepe her eyes have Charmed.	5
the two onelye dartes of love nowe will I w <sup>th</sup> y <sup>t</sup> boye prove som playe while he is disarmed.	
her tonge wakinge still refuseth, geivinge frankelye nigard no nowe will I attempt to knowe what no her Tonge sleepinge vsethe.	10
See the hand w <sup>ch</sup> wakinge gardethe Sleepinge grants a free resort nowe will I Invade the forte Cowards love w <sup>th</sup> losse rewardethe	15
But o foole thinke on the dainger, Of her Just & highe disdaine, Nowe will I alas refraine, love feares nothinge ells but anger.	20
Yet those lipps so sweetelye swellinge, do Invite a stealinge kysse Nowe will I but venter this, who will reade must first learne spellinge	
Ah Sweete kisse, but oh shee is wakinge, lowringe beawtye Chastenethe me Nowe will I for feare hence flee, foole, more foole for no more takinge.	25

4 whyle] When F(*euillerat*)<sup>10</sup>; 5 have]hath F; 13 w<sup>ch</sup>] that F; 17 on] of F;  
23 will I but venter] but venture will I F; 25 Ah] oh F: oh]ah F; 26  
Chastenethe] chastens F.

Falstaff breaks into a love song, sings its first line, and then stops abruptly, for his subsequent words do not contain any echo of the song. The first line would be sufficient indication to the knowledgeable, however, and would enhance their appreciation of Falstaff's not continuing any further with this song because it contained self-criticism of himself as a fool and a fearful coward—both of which characteristics are immediately evidenced by the play's subsequent action.

<sup>9</sup> This phrase repeats in all the verses.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. n. 2, *supra*.



Falstaff

The Merry Wives of Windsor

III.iii.

have I Caught my heauenlye Jewel, teachinge Sleepe most faire to be,

nowe will I nowe will I teache her that Shee,

whye shee wakes is to to cruell

B.M. Add MS.  
15117 f. 19.

Whether the above plea that Falstaff may have sung the line "Haue I caught my heauenlye Jewel?" be allowed or not, each reader must judge for himself. The insertion of "thee" in the line in later editions may have resulted

from the forgetting of the first line of a lyric past its popularity; it may also have come from an attempt to make the line, now robbed of its immediate lyrical associations, fit the context more dramatically. Whatever decision future editors may take with regard to glossing this line and future producers of the play with regard to acting it, at least those actively engaged in providing and playing contemporary music for the play will be pleased to have the setting, which will serve admirably as introductory music for Falstaff's ecstasy of love and for interlude music between scenes 2 and 3 of Act III, and may possibly be used as thematic music for the whole play.

The musical setting occurs in British Museum Additional MS 15117, f. 19, a manuscript that contains a considerable amount of dramatic music, some of it Shakespearian.<sup>11</sup> The voice part is scored with a *C* clef on the first line: the lute tablature is scored beneath: the first verse is underlaid and verses 2-7 are given on the same folio. In editing the music I have been at pains to stay as close to the manuscript as possible. A list of corrections and emendations is given last to explain some of the difficulties the text presented.

#### Corrections and Emendations.

There is no key signature and no use of Flat signs in the MS, but the lute accompaniment makes it clear that *B<sub>h</sub>* and *E<sub>h</sub>* are essential. The bar lines given here correspond to those in the MS except the two dotted ones, the first of which I have suggested because the line in the music MS ends here and, as so often happens in seventeenth-century music MSS, the line ending is an assumed bar line; the second dotted line I have suggested on analogy with bar 2, bars 7-9 substantially repeating bars 1-3.

Line 1	Bar 2	No value is given in the tablature for the last chord.
	Bars 5-6	The MS reads <i>J<sub>D</sub></i> , <i>J<sub>D</sub></i> , <i>J<sub>C</sub></i> and <i>J<sub>D</sub></i> . The final chord with <i>D</i> in the voice and <i>C</i> in the lute is impossible. I suggest that the compiler momentarily forgot he was writing in a <i>C</i> clef and here wrote as if in the <i>G</i> clef. I have, therefore, emended to <i>J<sub>F</sub></i> , <i>J<sub>F</sub></i> , <i>J<sub>E<sub>h</sub></sub></i> and <i>J<sub>F</sub></i> .
Line 3	Second Chord	No value is given in the tablature.
	Last Chord	The value given in the tablature seems to be that of a semi-breve crossed through for a pause, but it is given immediately under the last note of the voice part which is a crotchet similarly marked for a pause. The last two notes in the voice part are given as <i>G</i> , a most peculiar ending. I have emended to <i>B<sub>h</sub></i> on the strength of the opening chord of the song and in the belief that the compiler may well have intended <i>B<sub>h</sub></i> .

#### University of Alberta

<sup>11</sup> Cf. John P. Cutts, "A reconsideration . . .", cited in n. 7. In the same manuscript occur the following two groups of dramatic songs:—f.3. "Awake, ye wofull weights" from *Damon and Pythias*, c. 1566. Court; f.37. "O deathe, rock me asleepe", believed to be dramatic; play unknown; Court?; f.177. "Have you scene but a Whyte Lillie grow" from *The Devil is an Ass*, 1616, King's Men; f.18. "The poor soule sate sighinge" from *Othello*, 1604, King's Men; f.207. "Come, my Celia, let us prove" from *Volpone*, 1606, King's Men.

THE FIGURA IN SONNET 106

LOUIS F. MAY, JR.

Shakespeare develops Sonnet 106 by means of a *figura*. What is often an exegetical technique of Biblical interpretation becomes in this poem the method for a daringly hyperbolic, yet rhetorically controlled secular eulogy. Erich Auerbach has pointed out that according to figural interpretation (as practiced by St. Paul, the Church Fathers, and medieval exegetes), persons and events in the Old Testament "assumed the appearance of a series of 'figures', that is, of prophetic announcements and anticipations of the coming of Jesus and the concomitant events."<sup>1</sup> The following exemplifies a figural interpretation of Scripture:

It is a visually dramatic occurrence that God made Eve, the first woman, from Adam's rib while Adam lay asleep; so too is it that a soldier pierced Jesus' side, as he hung dead on the cross, so that blood and water flowed out. But . . . these two occurrences are exegetically interrelated in the doctrine that Adam's sleep is a figure of Christ's death-sleep; that, as from the wound in Adam's side mankind's primordial mother after the flesh, Eve, was born, so from the wound in Christ's side was born the mother of all men after the spirit, the Church (blood and water are sacramental symbols) . . . (Auerbach, p. 42)

This same technique, however, need not be limited to Scripture for, as Professor Auerbach also shows (pp. 170-176), Dante employs figural composition on a massive scale in the *Divine Comedy*. But the technique need not be confined to poetry as religiously orientated as Dante's, for Shakespeare employs history and prophecy, two components of the figural technique, in the composition of his secular eulogy.

An analysis of the diction in Sonnet 106 shows that the beauty recorded in medieval history and literature anticipates the Renaissance beauty of Shakespeare's friend. This poem, patterned on the implicit equation between the Old Testament and the New according to figural interpretation, makes explicit the equation between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The first two quatrains celebrate medieval chivalry:

When in the chronicle of wasted time  
I see descriptions of the fairest wights,  
And beauty making beautiful old rhyme  
In praise of ladies dead and lovely knights;  
Then, in the blazon of sweet beauty's best,  
Of hand, of foot, of lip, of eye, of brow,  
I see their antique pen would have express'd  
Even such a beauty as you master now.<sup>2</sup>

5

In these lines Shakespeare emphasizes the historically past beauty of medieval aristocracy by such words as *chronicle*, *wasted time*, *old rhyme*, *ladies dead*,

<sup>1</sup> Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard Trask (New York, 1957), p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Citations from Shakespeare in my text are to *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, ed. William Allan Neilson and Charles J. Hill (Cambridge, Mass., 1942).

lovely *knights*, *blazon*, and *antique pen*.<sup>3</sup> In their context the total connotation of these words suggests both metrical romances and medieval history.

In addition to celebrated persons of the past a *figura* also employs prophecy. The third quatrain stresses the vatic powers of medieval authors:

So all their praises are but prophecies  
Of this our time, all you prefiguring; 10  
And, for they look'd but with divining eyes,  
They had not [skill] enough your worth to sing.

Here the predictive words are *prophecies*, *prefiguring*, and *divining*, while *our time* introduces the necessary historical continuity that joins the Renaissance and the Middle Ages. The use of *prefiguring* is especially significant because it clinches the point that Shakespeare patterned his sonnet according to a *figura*.

The concluding couplet is both a summation and a paradox:

For we, which now behold these present days,  
Have eyes to wonder, but lack tongues to praise.

The meaning is something like this: we see you (the friend) now (in these present days of the Renaissance), but cannot praise you. The meaning of the entire figural sonnet, consequently, is that medieval authors were able to praise you in their literature and history, but could not see you then as a contemporary. They saw you only as someone in the future—a Renaissance man—prefigured by their beautiful and lovely aristocratic contemporaries. We in the Renaissance now see you, not only as our contemporary, but prefigured in medieval history and literature. We, however, says Shakespeare, cannot praise you. But in spite of this pretty paradox (or perhaps because of it) Shakespeare does successfully eulogize his friend in this figural sonnet.

*St. Louis University*

## THE CLOWN IN *OTHELLO*

LEONARD PRAGER

It is not strange that few people remember the Clown in *Othello*. He appears twice, speaking a total of about a dozen lines, and is not especially humorous. Most critical discussions of the play simply ignore the Clown. When he is mentioned, his presence is justified as "comic relief". Granville-Barker in his fine analysis of the play as a work to be acted has little to say of the Clown's first appearance at the beginning of Act III: "For relaxation before the tense main business of the tragedy begins we next have Cassio in the early morning bringing musicians to play beneath Othello's window (a pleasant custom, and here what delicate amends!), to this being added the grosser, conventional japes

<sup>3</sup> The *OED* defines *blazon* as used in this sonnet to mean "a record of virtues or excellencies". The meaning of a record certainly falls within the historical-figural pattern that Shakespeare develops here. A secondary meaning of *blazon*—"armorial bearings"—also fits the aristocratic subject matter of the sonnet.

of the Clown."<sup>1</sup> What is the Clown's function in this scene? We are not told. Of the Clown's appearance in Scene iv of the same act, Granville-Barker can only say, "After the prolonged and close-knit tension some such unqualified relief as the Clown now brings with his antic chatter will be welcome" (p. 46). In other words, "comic relief".

Let us attempt another explanation of the Clown's function. The last lines of Act II show us the plotting Iago and end with the latter's "Dull not device by coldness and delay." With the opening of Act III we find that the unequivocally sinister is followed by the ambiguously jovial, by what seems a marked contrast in mood. The Clown is Othello's servant and has been instructed to send away the musicians. He quibbles in conventional clown fashion, but the tenor of his appearance is: Othello will not hear music, will not be soothed, brought back into harmony with himself. Othello's passions have already been stirred, thereby clouding that reason which he normally commands. He has himself told us in the previous act: "Now, by heaven,/ My blood begins my safer guides to rule,/ And passion, having my best judgement collied,/ Assays to lead the way. . ." (II.iii.204-207). The delicate aubade offered by Cassio is rejected through the medium of the Clown, whose crude quibbles center on the theme of cacophony. G. Wilson Knight in *The Shakespearean Tempest* has shown how Shakespeare conceives of peace and agreement in terms of music played or sung in tune, and of disagreement and conflict in terms of music out of tune.

Even the stale humor of the Clown's labored misconstruction of Cassio's "Dost thou hear, my honest friend?" takes on added significance when understood in its context. The Clown replies, "No, I hear not your honest friend; I hear you." This perverse miscomprehension is comical, but that through which Othello is victimized is far from being so, a fact which we cannot forget, and which thereby lends a certain grimness to the Clown's jest even while we laugh at it. And surely the choice of adjective, "honest", is not accidental. If only Othello would not hear his "honest" friend, but rather the true Iago!

Again, in the Clown's second appearance in Act III, Scene iv, something more than "comic relief" is at work. Here we find the Clown in the company of Desdemona and Emilia, and he perpetrates one of the tritest of Elizabethan puns, one which Shakespeare himself used about a dozen times, namely the pun on *lie*. I do not believe it has ever been observed that the Clown's pun on *lie* ("to fabricate" and "to dwell") introduces a rash of lying on the part of *all* the major characters. Desdemona asks Emilia where she could have lost her handkerchief, and the latter replies falsely that she does not know (III.iv.24). Othello enters and Desdemona greets him, "How is't with you, my lord?" Othello answers, "Well, my good lady," adding, pain-stricken, the aside, "O, hardness to dissemble!" (III.iv.34). Shortly afterwards, testing Desdemona, attempting to force her to produce the lost handkerchief, Othello feigns a cold—"I have a salt and sorry rheum offends me;/ Lend me thy handkerchief" (III.iv.51). Desdemona does not have the handkerchief and Othello proceeds to invent a monstrous falsehood about its origin, saying an Egyptian gave the charmed and magical piece of cloth to his mother. But in the play's final scene we learn the truth from Othello himself—"It was a handkerchief, an antique

<sup>1</sup> H. Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (Princeton, 1947), II, 23.

token/ My father gave my mother" (V.ii.216-217). Desdemona finds Othello's fantastic account of the handkerchief's dark powers difficult to believe and asks, "Is't possible?" Othello unhesitatingly lies, "'Tis *true*: there's magic in the web of it. . . ." And again Desdemona, "Indeed! is't *true*?" Othello answers, "Most *veritable*. . . ." The terrified Desdemona is herself forced to dissemble, denying loss of the handkerchief—"I say, it is not lost" (III.iv.169f.). All of this lying helps to further what we may call the internal movement of the play. Most of the lying occurs within the main action. The Clown is but loosely connected to any action in the play, and he is essentially a choral figure who prepares the audience to interpret the play's progress rightly. Thus his pun on *lie* is a pointer directing the audience to the significant action which follows the quibbling. His quibbling has a jarring effect; it is labored and must be noticed. But what it means, what significance it has, is not immediately spelled out: Desdemona asks, "Can anything be made of this?" (III.iv.10).

To Desdemona the Clown appears to be talking in riddles. Unless we know that he is punning, his utterances are mystifying. The significance of his punning on *lie* becomes manifest when the seemingly jocular word-play is regarded as a riddle, a Sphinx-like pronouncement. The Clown, who in his first appearance was linked to Othello, tells Desdemona he cannot say where Cassio *lies*: "He's a soldier; and for one to say a soldier lies is stabbing" (III.iv.5-6). Early in the scene following that in which the Clown quibbles on *lie*, Iago, carrying forward his demonic plan, tells Othello that Cassio has lain with Desdemona. The word *lie* becomes matter for tragic quibbling in Othello's dazed response. Falsehood or fornication? Ironically, Othello at first seems to make the correct choice, only to fall back upon the worst suspicions of an already possessed mind. More than one stabbing follows Othello's plunge into false knowledge of "where Lieutenant Cassio lies":

*Othello.* Hath he said anything?

*Iago.* He hath, my lord; but be you well assur'd,  
No more than he'll unswear.

*Othello.* What hath he said?

*Iago.* Faith, that he did—I know not what he did.

*Othello.* What? what?

*Iago.* Lie—

*Othello.* With her?

*Iago.* With her, on her; what you will.

*Othello.* Lie with her? lie on her?—We say lie on her when they  
belie her.—Lie with her! Zounds, that's fulsome.—

Handkerchief—confessions—handkerchief. . . . (IV.i.28-38)

It is Othello's inability to question the counsel of "honest Iago" which assures his tragic fall. Shakespeare wishes us to see Othello not only as the tragic victim of his own jealousy, fears, and doubts, but also as the victim of external evil. The rash of lying on the part of virtuous characters in Act II, Scene iv, is a ramification of this evil; the lie is one of the more subtle snares of the Devil. The moral chaos which engulfs Othello is largely effected through lying; the quibble on *lie* itself becomes a symbol of moral uncertainty.

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## Current Theatre Notes, 1958-1959

ALICE GRIFFIN

**T**HAT Shakespeare is "not of an age but for all time" is attested to by this ninth annual survey of nearly three hundred Shakespearian productions during the 1958-1959 theatre season in twenty-four countries around the world.

And not only in volume and popularity of the plays today does Ben Jonson's tribute to his fellow playwright hold true. The productions bring out both the enduring universal values and also, as has been the case in every age, pertinent contemporary applications. Thus our current survey lists a production of *The Tempest* at the Popular Theatre in Krakow, Poland, using visual terms of modern art to show Prospero as a man of modern science and Ariel as a symbol of "free human thought" in bondage to the scientist and regaining his freedom at the end. A highly-praised French production of *King Henry IV*, Parts One and Two, by Roger Planchon, utilized modern stage techniques of Bertolt Brecht's "epic theatre" to present the action as symbolic of the decay of a state. *Julius Caesar* has been popular for many years as a play of modern political significance, and its modern-dress performance at Taylor University in Upland, Indiana, indicates that the popularity continues. And at Howard Payne College in Brownwood, Texas, a drama professor from England, Alex Reeve, conceived the idea of performing *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in the setting and costumes of cowboys and Indians of the American Wild West, and toured the production in England with great success. In Milwaukee, Mayor Frank Zeidler indicated his own interest in and knowledge of Shakespeare by modernizing the script of *Macbeth* for a production by the Milwaukee Players.

As the notes on the productions indicate, more and more directors reflect in their staging the Elizabethan practice of uninterrupted flow of action from scene to scene and in their setting such features of the Elizabethan playhouse as the inner and upper stages, the platform stage, and the "unlocalized locale". The University of Miami's Ring Theatre reconstructed the approximate area and features of the Elizabethan stage for their *As You Like It*, while *Henry IV*, Part One, at Loyola University in Chicago, although presented on a proscenium stage, incorporated in its setting the platform, portals, study, and chamber of Shakespeare's stage. In England, Michael Croft's Youth Theatre, made up of young people, uses boy actors in the female roles after the Elizabethan practice.

Any year of Shakespearian production in the world is a banner one in which the two greatest actors on the English-speaking stage appear in plays by Shakespeare. Sir John Gielgud brought to America his production of *Much Ado About Nothing* and starred as Benedick. The production, which originated at the Stratford Memorial Theatre in Stratford-upon-Avon and toured with great

success to the Continent, repeated its triumph in North America. In the 1959 season at Stratford-upon-Avon, Sir Laurence Olivier returned to Shakespeare in the role of Coriolanus, a performance praised for its brilliance and originality.

Productions by the following countries are included in the listing: Australia, Austria, Canada, England, Germany, Hawaii, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Yugoslavia, New Zealand, Norway, The Philippines, Poland, Scotland, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United States. We are especially pleased that our listings of productions in Germany, where Shakespeare is so popular, is more complete than in the past, thanks to the cooperation of the civic theatres themselves, where the repertory almost always includes a Shakespeare play. One of the best of these fine theatres, for instance, the Schauspielhaus of Bochum, offered *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar* and *Henry IV*, Part One, in one week, during a celebration of English drama.

Many Shakespearian productions toured during the 1958-1959 season. In the United States, university productions toured neighboring cities. In Great Britain, an Arts Council tour took *The Winter's Tale* to Northwest England and Wales. One of France's national theatres, the Comédie de Provence, toured *King Lear* to twenty-three cities in Provence, with great success, while an open-air *Midsummer Night's Dream*, after appearing in an ancient amphitheatre in Rome, toured other such theatres in Italy. The Habimah Theatre's *Merchant of Venice* toured to fifteen cities in Israel, and the Old Vic's touring company spent six months in North America, followed by a visit to Yugoslavia.

The summer festival continued to be a favored location for Shakespeare productions. In addition to the three Stratfords, in England, Canada and the United States, there was the annual *Hamlet* presentation at the Dubrovnik Festival in Yugoslavia, and the visit of the Théâtre National Populaire to Avignon with a Shakespeare play. The University of Colorado, after the 1958 success of its initial summer Shakespeare festival, continued with an even larger attendance at its beautiful outdoor theatre in Boulder.

For many productions, an original musical score is composed. The American Shakespeare Festival, Stratford, Connecticut, production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, had Marc Blitzstein provide music and songs. For many other productions of the *Dream* here and abroad, the Mendelssohn music was popular. The Old Vic celebrated the Tercentenary of the birth of Purcell by mounting the Dryden-Davenant adaptation of *The Tempest* with the Purcell score. And the Tavistock Repertory Company in London incorporated in their *Much Ado About Nothing* the newly-discovered ballad, "The God of Love", by William Elderton.

In pointing out that the Current Theatre Notes for 1958-1959 can be considered only as representative, we again call on readers of the *Quarterly* for their help in expanding this annual list by sending programs or notes on productions of Shakespeare plays which they may produce or see, in the United States or abroad, during the season from October 1, 1959, to October 1, 1960. (Postal address: Mrs. John Griffin, 200 W. 108th St., New York 25, N. Y.)

The current compilation owes a great deal to the assistance of such contributors in this country and abroad, without whose help it could not exist. We sincerely thank all groups and individuals who sent us programs, photo-

graphs, and production notes. American theatre organizations may be interested to know that material submitted by them for the Notes is forwarded after the compilation to the Shakespeare Memorial Library at Birmingham, England, where it becomes part of the permanent production files, consulted by scholars from all over the world.

Our greatest thanks, for invaluable assistance and advice, to Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, President of the Association, and Dr. James G. McManaway, editor of *Shakespeare Quarterly*. And our grateful appreciation to all our correspondents abroad who have given so graciously of their time and knowledge in aiding us to gather information on productions in their countries, including: Prof. Robert Davril of the United States Educational Commission for France; Dr. Doris Eisner, Vienna, Austria; Mme. Maurice Garreau-Dombasle, Paris; Rev. Henry L. Irvin, S.J., Ateneo de Manila, Philippines; Prof. Choji Kato, Theatre Museum, Waseda University, Tokyo; Mr. Bohdan Korzeniewski, President of the Polish Center of the International Theatre Institute, Warsaw; R. C. Morpeth, Secretary, New Zealand Drama Council, Wellington; Prof. A. C. Partridge, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg; Prof. Kristian Smidt, University of Oslo British Institute; Mr. David Stelling of London, and Mr. Victor H. Woods, City Librarian, Shakespeare Memorial Library, Birmingham, England; the editor of *Théâtre en Hongrie*, published by the Institut des Sciences du Théâtre, Budapest, Hungary.

*Hunter College.*

#### Shakespearian Productions, October 1, 1958-October 1, 1959

##### *All's Well That Ends Well*

Opened April 21, thereafter in repertory. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Tyrone Guthrie, Edith Evans as the Countess of Rossillon, Zoe Caldwell as Helena, Cyril Luckham as Parolles. "... sets the comedy in the Edwardian period, but not very rigidly. . . . Mr. Guthrie's intentions are frivolous rather than serious, and . . . his aim is less to reveal hidden depths in this play than to extract all possible fun. . . . Performances tended to be submerged in the production."—Patrick Gibbs, *The New York Times*, April 22, 1959.

April 22-25. The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. Directed by Howard Scammon, designed by Russell Hastings. Ann Daingerfield as the Countess, Scot Mannion as the King of France, Martha Miller as Helena. The production was set in the Romantic period (1830).

Opened July 29, thereafter in repertory. American Shakespeare Festival Theatre, Stratford, Connecticut. Directed by John Houseman, costumes by Dorothy Jeakins. Aline MacMahon as the Countess, Nancy Wickwire as Helena, Richard Waring as Parolles. The production lacked pace and poetry, and the denouement was played tongue-in-cheek, showing a lack of confidence in the play by laughing at it. The character of Helena was unconvincingly played as a painfully shy, Victorian violet type who forces herself to act against her true nature.

Season 1958-59. Stadttheater Pforzheim, Pforzheim, Germany. Directed by Peter von Wiese, designed by Gabriele Hahn. Ulrich Bernsdorff as Bertram, Maria Christina Müller as Helena, Frank Halatsch as Parolles. Translation by Hans Rothe.

Season 1958-59. Staatstheater, Kassel, Germany. Directed by Ulrich Hoffmann, designed by W. Baumgarten. Luise Glau as the Countess, Witta Pohl as Helena, Christian Gollong as the King of France.

*Antony and Cleopatra*

Opened November 17. Theatre Royal, Lincoln, England.

Winter. The New York Shakespeare Festival, New York, New York. Directed by Joseph Papp. Colleen Dewhurst as Cleopatra, George C. Scott as Antony.

Opened June 5. The Harrow School, England. Directed by Ronald Watkins.

July 28-September 5, in repertory. Oregon Shakespeare Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Directed by James Sandoe.

Season 1958-59. University of Canterbury Dramatic Society, New Zealand. Directed by Ngaio Marsh.

*As You Like It*

Opened October 28, thereafter in repertory. Städtische Bühne Augsburg, Augsburg, Germany. Directed by Helmut Gaick, designed by Heinz-Gerhard Zircher, music by Hermann Kropatschek. Translation by A. W. von Schlegel. Suzanne Lyncker as Rosalind, Werner Korn as Orlando, Hans Beuthner as Jaques.

Opened December 18, thereafter in repertory. Burgtheater, Vienna, Austria. Directed by Leopold Lindtberg, designed by Teo Otto (set) and Erni Kniepert (costumes). Translation by A. W. von Schlegel. Inge Konradi as Rosalind, Erich Auer as Orlando, Albin Skoda as Jaques.

Opened January 15 for a six-week run. Penthouse Theatre, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. Directed by Donal Harrington. Sally Beil Pritchard as Rosalind, Mark Dempsey as Orlando, Fred Bornhoeft as Jaques. An arena production. "The director colored the actors' speech with a tinge of Irish, which certain modern scholars believe approximates the speech of Shakespeare's day."

February 26-March 7. The University of Miami Ring Theatre, Coral Gables, Florida. Directed by Delmar E. Solem, settings by Terry H. Wells, costumes by Roberta Baker. Recorder music, Elizabethan tunes, arranged by Arnold Grayson. Joan Brink as Rosalind, William Curtis as Orlando, Eugene Zwick as Jaques. "We reconstructed the approximate area of the Elizabethan stage. . . . Our stage extends 29 feet into the house as did the forestage of the Elizabethan theatre. . . . We are also staging the play with an unlocalized playing area. . . . We have utilized the research of Leslie Hotson in costuming Touchstone. We have put him in motley rather than the traditional stage jester's costume. . . . We have also attempted to refrain from sentimentalizing and romanticizing certain speeches and characters, especially in our treatment of Jaques' 'Seven Ages of Man.'"

April 6-8. Arizona State University production at the 1959 Third Annual Shakespeare Festival of the Phoenix Little Theatre Alfred Knight Shakespeare Section, Phoenix, Arizona. Directed by James Yeater, designed by Phil J. Auth. Jill Fisher as Rosalind, George Wittingham as Orlando, Tom Paty as Jaques. The Festival was set amid a country fair, with Elizabethan songs and dances as entertainment, and lectures were given on each of the three plays offered.

April 23-25. Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, produced by the Ohio Alpha Chapter of Theta Alpha Phi. R. C. Hunter directed, D. C. Eysen designed. Daphne Winder as Rosalind, Jerry May as Orlando, Joe Woods as Jaques. The production was a special tribute to the retiring Professor Hunter, who has directed 41 Shakespeare presentations at Ohio Wesleyan since 1921.

Opened June 29, thereafter in repertory. Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Stratford, Canada. Directed by Peter Wood, designed by Desmond Heeley, music by John Cook. Irene Worth as Rosalind, William Sylvester as Orlando, Douglas Campbell as Touchstone. "You will not often see so handsomely dressed a production of *As You Like It*. . . . What is lacking or too often buried under business is the sheer fun of the frolic in an enchanted forest where love is a major preoccupation and graceful gaiety the dominant mood."—Judith Crist, *New York Herald Tribune*, June 30, 1959.

Opened August 4, thereafter in repertory. Toledo Summer Theatre, Toledo, Ohio. Directed by John Aronson.

Opened September 3, thereafter in repertory. Old Vic Theatre, London, England. Directed by Wendy Toye, designed by Malcolm Pride, music by Joseph Horowitz. Barbara Jefford as Rosalind, John Justin as Orlando, Alec McCowen as Jaques. "Setting the visual poetry a little

above the spoken poetry, she [the director] made a new sort of sense of this salad-play—and certainly a new sort of nonsense. In it laughter may have taken the place of declamation. Yet the principal characters had time to breathe, to grow, to win us to their ways. . . .”—Caryl Brahms, *Plays and Players* (London), October 1959.

Season 1958-59. Community Players, Auckland, New Zealand. Directed by K. Williams.

### *The Comedy of Errors*

March 5-7. Archbishop Temple's School, London, England. Directed by C. R. Randles. Ronald Jones and Anthony Palk as Antipholus and Dromio of Syracuse; Michael Phillips and Anthony Pells as Antipholus and Dromio of Ephesus. "For the setting we used the Essex Portable Stage, an all-purpose set of equipment issued by the London County Council for use in buildings which lack even the simplest staging facilities."

Season 1958-59. Städtisches Theater Mainz, Mainz, Germany. Directed by Horst Alexander Stelter, designed by Hans-Joachim Strehlow, translated by Hans Rothe. Karl-Heinz Ullmann and Fritz Kost as Antipholus and Dromio of Syracuse; Hans-Jürgen Krützfeldt and Volker Spahr as Antipholus and Dromio of Ephesus.

### *Coriolanus*

March 2-7. Oxford University Dramatic Society, Oxford Playhouse, Oxford, England. Directed by Anthony Page, designed by Sean Kenny. Patrick Garland as Coriolanus, Roger Croucher as Aufidius, Susan Engels as Volumnia.

Opened July 7, thereafter in repertory. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Peter Hall. Laurence Olivier as Coriolanus, Edith Evans as Volumnia. "Coriolanus is the least likable of all of Shakespeare's tragic heroes. . . . It is up to the actor, then, to give him an inner quality of nobility that can make him command the respect of the audience. . . . This Olivier achieves in the first part of the play by the very outrageousness of his behavior. You cannot help admiring a man so completely sure of himself, even when you think him completely wrong-headed. Up to the point of his banishment from Rome, two-thirds through the play, the actor is triumphantly successful."—W. A. Darlington, *The New York Times*, July 8, 1959. "No longer just a boorish tyrant lacking all consideration for others, Coriolanus becomes a hothead who cannot suffer fools gladly, and one can sympathise with him. . . . Only once does this novel interpretation of the role rock the balance of the play—when Coriolanus, driven into exile decides to turn traitor out of revenge. The Coriolanus of tradition, lacking a sense of irony, is capable of doing this, but not the man Olivier has made of him."—Frank Granville Barker, *Plays and Players* (London), September 1959.

### *Cymbeline*

February 12-14. Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. Directed by James Fiderlick.

### *Hamlet*

Opened November 8. Ipswich Theatre, Ipswich, England. Directed by John Hale.

December 3-6. Fylde College Theatre Group, Blackpool Technical College and School of Art, Blackpool, England. Directed and designed by Frank Winfield, who also played Hamlet. George Higgins as Claudius, Kathleen Johnson as Gertrude. An in-the-round production.

Opened December 16, thereafter in repertory. The Old Vic Company North American Tour, Broadway Theatre, New York, N. Y. Directed by Michael Benthall, designed by Audrey Cruddas, music by Gordon Jacob. John Neville as Hamlet, Oliver Neville as Claudius, Margaret Courtenay as Gertrude. A virtually uncut, three-and-one-half-hour production, a Prince of Denmark in the Romantic tradition, thin, blond, pale, handsome and sensitive. An intelligent if not inspired Hamlet, which set the action in perspective against its background. A six-month visit to the United States and Canada.

Opened January 29. Powszechny Theatre, Warsaw, Poland. Directed by Irene Babel, designed by A. Tofta, translated by R. Branestaetter.

February 2-June 15, 25 times in repertory. Theater der Stadt Bonn, Bonn, Germany. Directed by Karl Pempelfort, designed by Hans Günther Spornitz (set) and Rosemarie Schickardt (costumes), music by Heribert Beissel. Werner Kreindl as Hamlet, Curt Eilers as Claudius, Rosemarie Kilian as Gertrude. The translation by A. W. von Schlegel.

February 10-March 7. The Birmingham Repertory Theatre, Birmingham, England. Directed by Bernard Hepton, designed by Graham Barlow. Ian Richardson as Hamlet, Arthur Pentelow as Claudius, Marigold Sharman as Gertrude.

Opened February 26 for 3 performances in repertory. Meininger Theater, Meiningen, Germany. Directed by Fritz Bennewitz, sets by Willi Röhling, costumes by Edith Mai, translation by Rudolf Schaller. Winfried Wagner as Hamlet, Hermann Hiesgen as Claudius, Felicias Ritsch as Gertrude. An audience of 20,527 saw the production.

Opened March 3. Nottingham Repertory Theatre, Nottingham, England. Directed by Val May.

March 17-20, 23-25. The Old Vic production (above) visit to Belgrade and Zagreb, Yugoslavia. The company also appeared at Ljubljana, March 27-28. Sixteen curtain calls welcomed the opening-night performance.

April 22-25. West Texas State College, Canyon, Texas. Directed by Mr. and Mrs. William A. Moore, designed by Robert Antrim. Edward Thomas as Hamlet, David O'Keefe as Polonius, Marti Hinson as Ophelia.

Opened April 22. The National Youth Theatre, Barn Theatre, Dartington Hall, later at Queen's Theatre, London. Directed by Michael Croft.

April 24-May 28. Nationaltheatret, Oslo, Norway. Directed by Knut Hergel, translated by André Bjerke. Knut Wigert as Hamlet, Stein Grieg Halvorsen as Claudius, Lillebil Ibsen as Gertrude.

May 23-June 6. University of Cape Town Little Theatre, Cape Town, South Africa; toured to Rondebosch (June 10), Bellville (June 11), Paarl (June 12-13), Stellenbosch (June 15-16) and Somerset West (June 17). Directed by Rosalie van der Gucht, costumes by Shirley Duff Gray, set by Bill Smuts. Karl Oetlé as Hamlet, Colin Romoff as Claudius, Phyllis Schaffer as Gertrude. To overcome the confines of the stage, a "space" set used a series of platforms and staircases in a black surround, with lighting to heighten the dramatic effect.

August 2. Festival de Saintes, Charente Maritime, France. Directed by Jean de Poulain, French adaptation by Hubert Gignoux. Jacques Destoop as Hamlet, with Odile Versois, Jean Tissier and Madeleine Sologne.

August 10-15. Youth Theatre production, Cambridge Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England. Directed by Michael Croft. Richard Hampton as Hamlet, Kenneth Farrington as Claudius, Michael Butcher as Gertrude. The Youth Theatre, founded in 1956, aims to "encourage young people towards a greater interest in the living theatre." Its members are between fourteen and twenty-one years of age; the *Hamlet* company were drawn mainly from London schools; they are non-professionals. The policy is to use boy actors in the female roles in the Elizabethan tradition.

August. Dubrovnik Festival, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. Directed by Marko Fotez, Jovan Milicevic as Hamlet. Performed out of doors in the ancient Fort Lavrenac. "The setting effortlessly conjures the stony corridors and ramparts of Elsinore itself. . . . From a technical viewpoint the playing area is a perfect Elizabethan stage. To left and right are stone archways, somewhat smaller in size than the rear archway in front of which and within which the action is set. These archways afford the actors easy entrance and exit and scenes flow with fluidity, one sequence into the other. . . . The performance itself is intense and brisk. . . . Hamlet is no conventional fair-haired dreamer but rather a 'full-blooded man, a realistic product of a stormy time.'"—Lewis Funke, *The New York Times*, August 15, 1959.

Summer. Little Theatre of the Rockies, Colorado State College, Greeley, Colorado. Directed by Helen Langworthy. Bill J. Foster as Hamlet, Gordon Grunke as Claudius, Nancy Green as Gertrude.

September. Rogaland Teater, Stavanger, Norway. Directed by Bjørn Endreson. Pelle Christensen as Hamlet, Bjarne Andersen as Claudius, Edith Ottosen as Gertrude.

Opened September 26. Neue Wiener Bühne im Josefsaal, Vienna, Austria. Directed by Max Pfeiler, adaptation by Franz Rosak.

Opened September 12. Deutsches Theater in Göttingen, Germany. Directed by Heinz Hilpert, designed by Lothar Baumgarten. Karl Walter Diess as Hamlet, Angela Sallöker as Gertrude, Martin Hirthe as Claudius.

October. Municipal Theatre, Istanbul, Turkey. Directed by Muhsin Ertugrul, designed by Turgut Atalay. Engin Cezzar as Hamlet, Gülistan Güzey as Gertrude, Sibel Göksel as Ophelia.



Season 1958-59. Landesbühne Rheinland-Pfalz, Neuwied, Germany. Directed by Richard Friedel. Kurt Schmidt-Mainz as Hamlet, Mr. Friedel as Claudius, Gisela Pelz as Gertrude.

### *Julius Caesar*

Opened October 8, thereafter in repertory. The Old Vic Theatre, London, England. Directed by Douglas Seale, designed by Berkeley Sutcliffe, music by John Lambert. Michael Hordern as Cassius, Ronald Lewis as Mark Antony, John Phillips as Brutus.

October 18-November 1. Questors Theatre, Ealing, London, England. Directed by Raymond Moss, sets by John Rolfe, costumes by Joan Pyle. Paul Imbusch as Cassius, John Howard as Brutus, Gordon Millais as Mark Antony.

February 12-March 21. The Library Theatre, Manchester, England. Directed by David Scase, designed by Daphne Hart. David Mahlowe as Brutus, John Franklyn Robbins as Cassius, David Sumner as Mark Antony.

February. The Curtain Theatre, Rochdale, England.

February 19-21. Kenyon College Dramatic Club, Gambier, Ohio. Directed by James Michael, set by Sarah Clawson, costumes by Ruth Scudder. Lawrence Folse as Caesar, William McCabe as Mark Antony, John Stanley as Brutus.

February 20-March 1. Ateneo de Manila Dramatics Society, Manila, Philippines. Directed by Onofre Pagsanghan. Arsenio Bonifacio as Brutus, Rufo Gonzalez as Cassius, Ignacio Vitalis as Mark Antony. The director stressed the symbolism of color in the costumes as well as in the lighting and designing; orange drapery, for instance, was arranged in billows behind Pompey's statue, to "give the impression of a huge storm cloud about to burst. . . . The arrangement and color of the drapery prophesy to the audience the colossal death, destruction, and civil war which are imminent."

Opened March 3. The Belgrade Theatre, Coventry, England. Directed by Brian Bailey.

April 20. Schauspielhaus Bochum, Bochum, Germany. Directed by Hans Schalla, settings by Max Fritzsche, costumes by Therese van Treeck, music by Emil Peeters. Rolf Schult as Brutus, Walter Uttendörfer as Cassius, Rolf Boysen as Mark Antony. One of the productions during a Week of English Drama at the Playhouse. The production also visited the Paris Festival at the Théâtre des Nations there, opening March 31.

May 8, 11. Taylor University, Upland, Indiana. Directed and designed by James Young. Dennis Thompson as Mark Antony, Grady Rogers as Brutus, Larry Thomas as Cassius. "The stage was built out and extended by the use of levels, which at times brought the acting to the floor of the auditorium in front of the audience. Costuming was expressionistic, with the men wearing black form-fitting trousers and solid-colored dress shirts. . . . The modern dress gave liberty for action and also depicted more clearly the bodily struggle of the play."

August 3-22. New York Shakespeare Festival, Belvedere Lake Theater, Central Park, New York, N. Y. Directed by Stuart Vaughan, scenery and costumes by Eldon Elder, music by David Amram. Ernest Graves as Cassius, John Harkins as Brutus, Donald Madden as Mark Antony, Staats Cotsworth as Julius Caesar. "A skilled company, under Stuart Vaughan's well paced direction, has brought fresh insight to the drama. . . . Perhaps the full force of Mr. Vaughan's directorial skill is epitomized in the sequence of speeches by Brutus and Antony as the mob surrounds the stage. . . . Mr. Vaughan is particularly successful in staging the mass scenes, in depicting riots and anarchy . . . in giving movement to the battle scenes."—Judith Crist, *New York Herald Tribune*, August 4, 1959.

### *King Henry IV, Part One*

Fall 1958, thereafter in repertory. Oldenburgisches Staatstheater, Oldenburg, Germany. Director, Ernst Dietz, designed by Mr. Dietz and Wolf Gerlach. Hans Rothe's adaptation of the two parts was used. Raimund Bucher as Henry IV, Günther Amberger as Prince Hal, Hans Obermeier as Falstaff.

November 7-9. Curtain Guild, Loyola University, at Loyola Community Theatre, Chicago, Illinois. Directed by Hugh Dickinson, designed by William O'Neill. Don Edwards as Henry IV, Spencer Cosmos as Prince Hal, James Chambers as Falstaff. Although presented on a proscenium stage, the setting simulated an Elizabethan playhouse, using platform, portals, study and chamber, with action continuous.

November 20-22, 24-25. Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts. Directed by Walter

Boughton, designed by Charles Rogers. W. Scott MacConnell as Henry IV, Joseph Tulchin as Prince Hal, Peter Strauss as Falstaff. Part Two was presented the following March.

March 9, 11, 13. The Marlowe Society, Cambridge Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England. The actors and director are anonymous. Part Two was played on alternate nights. "Performed as a whole, *Henry IV* takes on new, and often surprising, meanings. The central theme linking the parts together is Hal's progress from dissolute irresponsibility to kingship. . . . In the complete structure . . . it is Falstaff who is the real villain."

April 10-12. Phoenix Little Theatre production, Phoenix Little Theatre Third Annual Shakespeare Festival, Phoenix, Arizona. Directed by Norman MacDonald. Frank Hanna as Henry IV, Henry Balloni as Prince Hal, Walter Andrews as Falstaff.

April 21. Schauspielhaus Bochum, Bochum, Germany. Directed by Harald Benesch, sets by Max Fritzsche, costumes by Therese van Treeck. Claus Clausen as Henry IV, Alfons Lipp as Prince Hal, Peter Probst as Falstaff. Translation by Hans Rothe. One production in the Playhouse's Week of English Drama.

April 24-May 3. Northwestern University Theatre, Evanston, Illinois. Staged by Lee Mitchell, settings by George Crepeau, costumes by Paul Reinhardt. Paul Hardy as Prince Hal, Richard Benjamin as Hotspur, Weldon Bleiler as Falstaff. "In order to maintain an uninterrupted flow of action we have set the stage as simply as possible. . . . A few benches, some banners, trumpets and drums serve to tell where the action is taking place. . . . It remains for the costumes and properties to convey the atmosphere of the turbulent times. . . ."

April. Adams House Dramatic Society, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Daniel Seltzer as Falstaff, Stephen L. Wailes as Prince Hal.

May 16, 18, June 12. Masque and Gown, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Directed and designed by George H. Quinby, who has directed and designed all 46 Shakespeare performances at the College since 1911. Dan Calder as Falstaff, Neville Powers as Prince Hal, John Swierzynski as Hotspur.

May. Theatre de la Cité de Villeurbanne, Montparnasse-Gaston Baty Theatre, Paris, France. Directed and adapted by Roger Planchon, designed by René Allio. Jean Bouisse as Falstaff, Roger Planchon as Prince Hal, Henri Galiardin as Henry IV. ". . . L'extraordinaire et précise verve de la mise en scène . . . d'un disciple, mas d'un disciple très clairvoyant, de Bertolt Brecht. C'est la mise en scène-commentaire de l'oeuvre de Shakespeare. . . . Ce Commentaire est tout intérieur, consiste en des indications de jeux de scène, légers, ou plus appuyés. . . . Cette représentation elle-même est d'un éclat et d'une intelligence continus."—Jacques Lemarchand.

May 22, 26. Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina. Directed by Elizabeth Edwards, designed by Bob Jones, Jr., who played Lear. Robert Pratt as the Fool, Richard Rupp as Kent.

### *King Henry IV, Part Two*

March 6-7, 9-11. The Masquers, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts. Directed by Walter Boughton, designed by Charles Rogers. Scott MacConnell as Henry IV, Philip Gossett as Prince Hal, Peter Strauss as Falstaff. Part One was presented the previous November.

March 10, 12, 14. The Marlowe Society, Cambridge Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England. The actors and director are anonymous. Part One was presented on preceding nights.

June. Theatre de la Cité de Villeurbanne, Montparnasse-Gaston Baty Theatre, Paris, France. Directed and adapted by Roger Planchon, designed by René Allio. Jean Bouisse as Falstaff, Roger Planchon as Prince Hal, Henri Galiardin as Henry IV. Part One opened the previous month. ". . . The plays were boiled down to the bare social bones; each point was made, coolly and pungently, on a rostrum backed by a map of medieval England, and each scene was prefaced by a caption, projected onto a screen, that summed up the import of what we were about to see. Individual characterization was subjected to the larger image of declining feudalism."—Kenneth Tynan, *The New Yorker*, August 1, 1959.

### *King Henry V*

Opened December 25. The Old Vic Company North American Tour. Broadway Theatre, New York, N. Y. Directed by Michael Benthall, designed by Audrey Cruddas. Laurence Harvey as Henry V, Richard Wordsworth as Pistol, Judi Dench as Katherine. "Mr. Harvey seemed a muscular, smug, cardboard hero, and . . . the production never really caught fire. The greatest virtue of Michael Benthall's staging was its clarity and color. . . ."

Opened January 25, thereafter in repertory. Nordmark-Landestheater, Schleswig, Germany. Directed by Horst Gnekow, designed by Philipp Blessing, music by Roland Sonder-Mahnken. Premiere of the translation by Hans Rothe. Jochen Schmidt as Henry V, Rudolph Köhler as Pistol, Elisabeth Schwarz as Katherine.

### *King Henry VI, Part One*

Opened August 18. The Hovenden Theatre Club, London, England. Directed by Valery Hovenden.

### *King John*

Opened June 19. The Norwich Players, The Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. Directed by Ian Emmerson.

July 28-September 5 in repertory. The Oregon Shakespeare Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Directed by Richard D. Risso.

### *King Lear*

September. Théâtre National, Szeged, Hungary. Setting by József Cselényi. A new translation was used.

October 6-November 16. Comédie de Provence, Centre Dramatique National, Aix-en-Provence, France. Tour to 23 cities in Provence. Directed by René Lafforgue, who also wrote the music and the new adaptation with Paul Chovelon. Designed by Jean-Pierre Frémont. René Lafforgue as Lear, Andrée Amavet as Cordelia, Guy Moatty as the Fool.

Opened October 15. Burgtheater, Vienna, Austria. Directed by Adolf Rott, settings by Robert Kautsky, costumes by Elli Rolf, music by Hans Totzauer. Werner Krauss as Lear, Johanna Matz as Cordelia, Heinz Woester as Gloster. Limited to four performances because of the illness of Mr. Krauss.

November. State Theatre, Ankara, Turkey. Directed by Cüneyd Gökcer, designed by Ulrich Damrau. Cüneyd Gökcer as Lear, Nuri Altınok as Kent, Muazzez Kurtoglu as Goneril.

Opened January 2. The Players Theatre, New York, N. Y. Directed by Philip Lawrence. Sydney Walker as Lear, Joyce Ebert as Cordelia, Richard Mathews as the Fool. "The physical production is practical and attractive, and the lighting is dramatic. But the director has whipped the performance up to a pitch that places the emphasis on noise and drowns out Shakespeare's poem. . . ."—Brooks Atkinson, *The New York Times*, January 3, 1959.

April 2-4. Production by the University of Arizona at the Third Annual Shakespeare Festival of the Phoenix Little Theatre, Phoenix, Arizona. Directed by Peter R. Marroney. Bill Spies as Lear, Kendall Clingerman as Cordelia, Peter Glenn as the Fool.

Opened May 9, and thereafter on tour in other Polish cities. Le Théâtre Dramatique Yougoslave of Belgrade, in Warsaw, Poland. Directed by Mat Milaszevic, designed by Milenko Szerbon; music by Stefan Bristic, and costumes by Mir Glizic.

Opened August 18, thereafter in repertory. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Glen Byam Shaw, designed by Motley, music by Anthony Hopkins. Charles Laughton as Lear, Zoe Caldwell as Cordelia, Ian Holm as the Fool. "At his first entrance, [Lear] shambles onto the stage, a funny old Father Christmas in a white nightgown, mild and chubby, looking forward to the party where he is to give away the presents. There is not a scrap of majesty in him. . . . Consequently, when his two elder daughters take advantage of his innocence, you may sob your heart out in sympathy for the silly old fool, but you look in vain for any signs of the grandeur that Shakespeare took such impressive pains to write into the character."—W. A. Darlington, *The New York Times*.

August 29-September 28, 25 performances. Schlosstheater Celle, Celle/Hann, Germany. Directed by Hannes Razum, designed by Hans Günther Spornitz, music by Theodor Holterdorf. Translation by Wolf Heinrich Graf Baudissin. The production will open a repertory week under the title "Glory and Misery of Power" in May 1960, celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Schlosstheater Celle.

Season 1958-59. J. C. Williamson's, Melbourne, Australia. Directed by John Alden, designed by Alistair Roberts. In repertory with three other Shakespeare plays. John Laurie as King Lear.

### *King Richard II*

Opened October 22, thereafter in repertory. Stadttheater Regensburg, Regensburg/Bayern,

Germany. Directed by Walter Storz. Gerhard Knick as Richard, Wilhelm Graf as the Duke of York, Rolf Straub as Bolingbroke. Opened July 24. Stowe School, England. Directed by W. L. McElwee, L. A. W. Evans, C. J. W. Gauvain.

August 1-15. Colorado Shakespeare Festival, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. Presented in the Mary Rippon Theatre, an outdoor amphitheatre especially designed for Elizabethan production. Directed by Ralph Symonds, guest director from Shropshire, England. Costumes by Inge Schmidt. William Monell as Richard, Max Dixon as Bolingbroke, Shirley S. Cox as Queen Anne. In repertory with two other Shakespeare plays, performed by an acting company drawn from students from throughout the country, and Boulder residents and students. Attendance for the two weeks was 10,669.

### *King Richard III*

October 3-30. The Southsea Shakespeare Actors, South Parade Pier Theatre, Southsea, England. Directed and designed by K. Edmonds Gateley, who also played Richard III. Leonard Russell as Buckingham, Donald Beacon as Hastings. "The battle was particularly successful and was mimed in darkness and smoke as shafts of orange light caught banners and armour. At the end the banners of the white rose and the red were of immense length and were entwined right down the stage to symbolize their uniting."

### *Love's Labour's Lost*

January 25. H. Modrzejewskiej Theatre, Krakow, Poland. Directed by W. Krzemiński, designed by W. Krakowski.

January 26-February 14. The Playhouse, Sheffield Repertory Company, Ltd., Sheffield, England. Directed and designed by Geoffrey Ost. Philip Stone as Berowne, Julie Paul as Rosaline, Victor Lucas as Armado.

March 5-14. Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana. Directed by Howard Lord and James Cronin, setting by Donald Rathgeb, costumes by Sue Sternock. Michael Ehrenreich as Berowne, Margaret Nerad as Rosaline, Howard Lord as Armado. "We presented the play as taking place in a day. The King meets his henchmen at dawn and the Princess retires to France in the late evening. . . . Holofernes and Sir Nathaniel, because of their late appearance in the script, were introduced at the opening of the play in a dumb show. . . . We employed no curtain. The audience saw the courtyard of the King when they entered the theatre. . . . Mercade we played to the hilt with a big entrance, clothed in black. The effect was electric. The audience was stunned. The entrance had the effect of reminding them that what they had seen was just entertaining foolishness but that there was still a real world to contend with, a world characterized by such things as death."

### *Macbeth*

November 12-14. Missouri State Teachers College Players, Kirksville, Missouri. Directed and designed by Jack Hensley. Alfred Srnka as Macbeth, Sandra Cragg as Lady Macbeth, John Beebout as Macduff.

Opened November 25. White Rock Pavilion, Hastings, Sussex, England. Directed and designed by John Vallance who played Macbeth. Monica Rendel as Lady Macbeth, Frank Underhill as Macduff. The first successful professional production in the town in many years, "good houses in a theatre seating 1,200." 1,000 school children attended a special matinee.

Opened December 17, thereafter in repertory. The Old Vic Theatre, London, England. Directed by Douglas Seale, designed by Desmond Heeley, music by Christopher Whelen. Michael Hordern as Macbeth, Beatrix Lehmann as Lady Macbeth, John Phillips as Macduff. A very successful production, *Macbeth* in one week at the Vic achieved the figure of 100 per cent of possible attendance including all seating and standing room.

Opened March 24. The Playhouse, Liverpool, England. Directed by Willard Stoker.

April 9-May 15. The Cleveland Play House, Cleveland, Ohio. Directed by Frederic McConnell, designed by Mr. McConnell and Paul Rodgers, costumes by Charles Autry. William Paterson as Macbeth, Harriet Brazier as Lady Macbeth, Robert Paulus as Macduff.

April 19. Schauspielhaus Bochum, Bochum, Germany. Directed and set designed by Hans Schalla, costumes by Therese van Treeck, music by Emil Peeters. Translated by Johann Joachim Eschenburg. Rolf Boysen as Macbeth, Margaret Carl as Lady Macbeth, Rolf Schult as Macduff. One offering in a Week of English Drama at the Schauspielhaus.

May. La Compagnie la Guilde, Théâtre Menilmontant, France. Adaptation by Jean Cosmos.

June 2-June 7. Milwaukee Players, Department of Municipal Recreation, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Directed by Robert E. Freidel. Douglas Easley as Macbeth; Madeleine Quinn and Margaret Olesen alternated as Lady Macbeth. The script was a modern version by the Mayor of Milwaukee, the Honorable Frank E. Zeidler. Staying as close to the text as possible, Mayor Zeidler substitutes contemporary language in some places.

July 30-August 16. Cambridge Drama Festival, Metropolitan Boston Arts Center, Boston, Massachusetts. Directed by José Quintero, setting by David Hays, costumes by Marie Day. Jason Robards, Jr., as Macbeth, Siobhan McKenna as Lady Macbeth, Roy Poole as Macduff.

August 1-15, in repertory. Colorado Shakespeare Festival, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. Directed by J. H. Crouch, costumes by Inge Schmidt. Robert Benson as Macbeth, Shirley S. Cox as Lady Macbeth, Max Dixon as Macduff. Performed in an outdoor amphitheatre with an especially-designed Elizabethan stage.

September 4-19. Parktown Boys' High School, Johannesburg, South Africa. Directed and designed by Michael Bird. Eric Cohen as Macbeth, Michael Kuper as Lady Macbeth, Robin Chater as Duncan and Macduff. "... bold in conception, Gaelic in its baroque costuming, and savage ... the action of 'effects' and the effects of action collaborated superbly to minimize the weakness of the verse-speaking. ... Bird's understanding of the importance of these sinister creatures [the witches] to the action and to the motivation ... was skilfully demonstrated. ... Bird took considerable liberties with the text, but most of them were justified. His banquet scene, his pageant of kings, and his flight and murder of Lady Macduff on the upper stage, were original contributions."—A. C. Partridge, University of the Witwatersrand.

Season 1958-59. Volkstheater, Vienna, Austria. Directed by Leon Epp, designed by Carl Wilhelm Vogel. Otto Woegerer as Macbeth, Hilde Krahel as Lady Macbeth, Hannes Schiel as Macduff. 29 performances.

Season. Little Theatre of Jamestown, New York. Designed and directed by C. Edwin Shade. Neil Carpenter as Macbeth, Marlene Keen as Lady Macbeth, Gary MacIntyre as Macduff.

### *Measure for Measure*

Opened October 30, 80 performances. Royal Dramatic Theatre, Stockholm, Sweden. Directed by Alf Sjöberg, designed by Lennart Mörk. George Rydeberg as Angelo, Gunn Wallgren as Isabella, Anders Henrikson as Vincentio.

November 17-22. Bolton Little Theatre, Bolton, England. Directed by Norma Wilson. Alan Cullen as Angelo, Jean Ashton as Isabella, Walter Fearnley as Vincentio.

July 28-September 5. Oregon Shakespeare Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Directed by James Sandoe.

Season 1958-59. Nordmark Landestheater, Schleswig, Germany. Directed by Horst Gnekow, designed by Rudolf Soyka, music by Uwe Röhl. Translated by Hans Rothe. Jochen Schmidt as Angelo, Elisabeth Schwarz as Isabella, Ulrich Brockmann as Duke Vincentio.

### *The Merchant of Venice*

February 16. The Century Theatre, Wolverhampton, England. Directed by Eric Salmon.

Opened February 23. Habimah Theatre, Tel-Aviv, Israel. Directed by Tyrone Guthrie, designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch. S. Finkel and A. Meskin as Shylock, R. Klatschkin as Antonio, S. Ravid as Portia. The play was performed in almost modern dress. 25,000 saw the play which also was performed at Haifa, Jerusalem, Ashkelon, Nathanya and eleven smaller cities.

Opened March 2. Guildford Repertory Theatre, Guildford, England. Directed by Richard Hayter.

March 9-14. University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. Directed by C. Lowell Lees, designed by V. Doug Snow and Vern Addix. George C. Scott as Shylock, Colleen Dewhurst as Portia, Bryce Chamberlain as Bassanio. Mr. Scott and Miss Dewhurst are professional actors, who combined their talents with those of players from the community. Shylock was portrayed as "a combination of motivated and justified villainy".

May 5-9. The Southsea Shakespeare Actors, South Parade Pier Theatre, Southsea, England. Directed and designed by K. Edmonds Gateley, costumes by Nancy Glenister. William E. M. Smith as Shylock, Anne Nicolle as Portia, Leonard Russell as Antonio. The production stressed the romance, with "Shylock not the leading character. but the villain in the fairy tale."

Opened May 11 for one week. New Theatre, Bromley Repertory Company, Bromley, England. Directed by Tony Beckley, designed by Glen Edwards. Raymond Dyer as Shylock, Barbara Bolton as Portia, Peter Goss as Antonio.

August 25-September 5. Johannesburg College of Education Dramatic Society, Johannesburg, South Africa. Directed by Jennifer Gray, designed by Dan Swart and Bruce Palmer. Jack Prudden as Shylock, Wendy Hamblin as Portia, Peter Lynsky as Antonio.

September 19. Stannington Players, Stannington, Sheffield, England. Directed and designed by Len Horton. Stuart Baines as Shylock, Margaret Bird as Portia, Alwyn Johnson as Antonio.

October 13-17. Marlowe Theatre, Canterbury, England. Directed by Donald Bain, designed by Helen Spankie. Frank Middlemass as Shylock, Gillian Martell as Portia.

October. Goodman Memorial Theatre, Chicago, Illinois. Directed by Charles McGaw, designed by Jim Maronek. Morris Carnovsky as Shylock, Mariette Hartley as Portia, Frank Savino as Bassanio.

Season 1958-59. J. C. Williamson's, Melbourne, Australia. Directed by John Alden, designed by Alistair Roberts. John Alden as Shylock, Elaine Montgomery as Portia.

### *The Merry Wives of Windsor*

Opened December 31. Württembergische Landesbühne, Esslingen, Germany. Directed by Jürgen von Alten, costumes by Alfons Kauschus, translation by Hans Rothe. Karl-Maria Artel as Falstaff, Ursula Schulze as Mistress Page, Marianne Simson as Mistress Ford.

March 13-21. Hofstra College Tenth Annual Shakespeare Festival, Hempstead, Long Island. Directed by Bernard Beckerman.

March 20-21. Bishop O'Dowd School, Oakland, California. Irene Aguirre and Bonnie Mac-Millan as Mistress Page, Gail Biles and Bernadette Ogle as Mistress Ford, William Baldwin and Wallace Colthurst as Falstaff.

June 23-August 15. Sommerteatret, Frogner Park, Oslo, Norway. Directed by Alfred Solaas and Ivo Cramér. Willie Hoel as Falstaff, Turid Balke as Mistress Page, Synnøve Gleditsch as Mistress Ford.

July 8, thereafter in repertory. American Shakespeare Festival Theatre, Stratford, Connecticut. Directed by John Houseman and Jack Landau, scenery by Will Steven Armstrong, costumes by Motley. Larry Gates as Falstaff, Nancy Wickwire as Mistress Ford, Nancy Marchand as Mistress Page. ". . . A gay, light-hearted escapade that makes the most of every humorous situation but refrains from the evils of excess. . . . Mr. Gates is not depending upon spurious whalelike girth alone. He can act the role to its roundest. . . . Yet for all the profligacy he can convey a memory of dormant dignity, too."—Lewis Funke, *The New York Times*, July 9, 1959.

July 21. The Cambridge Theatre Group, in the Fellows Garden, Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Directed by Raymond Tunmer and Camille Prior.

Opened September 6, thereafter in repertory. Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus, Düsseldorf, Germany.

### *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

October 24, premiere. Dramatisches Studio in der Volkshochschule Ottakring, Vienna, Austria. Hilde Weinberger, director and designer, performed by students of the Dramatic Studio. Also offered in other high schools. Music by Mendelssohn.

November 4-December 6. Library Theatre, Manchester, England. Directed by David Scase, designed by Daphne Hart. Bernard Kay as Bottom, David Mahlowe as Oberon, Marah Stohl as Titania.

Opened November 15. The People's Theatre, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England. Directed by William Scott.

November 17, 18. University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada. Directed by Victor S. Cowie, sets by Grant Marshall, costumes by Margaret Trevenon. Bryan Dobbs as Bottom, Paul Swayze as Oberon, Lois Gemmill as Titania. The settings and costumes suggested an early 19th-century Romantic background. Music by Mendelssohn.

November 27-28. The Classic Players of Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina. Directed and designed by Eva Carrier. Richard Rupp as Bottom, Jack Buttram as Oberon,



Edward Panosian as Theseus. The 27-foot stage turntable was built up with tiered platforms to resemble a huge wedding cake. Two concentric gauze travelers encircled the "cake." Another scrim at the proscenium was used during all of the dream scenes. These gauze curtains were tinted in pastels. Music by Mendelssohn.

February 19-21. Stetson University, Stover Theatre, DeLand, Florida. Directed by Charles C. Ritter, designed by Byrne Blackwood. Connie Clark as Oberon, Mary Watkins as Titania, Bob Krim as Bottom. A stylized production with period music, principally Respighi and Vivaldi. The fifth production of the play at Stetson University, which has offered twenty-three of the plays during fifty-one years of theatrical performance.

February. The British Empire Shakespeare Society, The Playhouse, Derby, England. The sixty-sixth production by the Society since it began in 1908. Eight performances.

March 6-14. The Kerwin Players, Eltham Little Theatre, London, England. Directed by Mervyn Hausman, who also designed the production. John Edwards as Oberon, Arthur Grimley as Bottom, Yvonne Andre as Puck.

March 9-14. Civic Theatre Limited, Chesterfield, England. Directed by Richard Scott, designed by Elizabeth MacLeish. David Jackson as Bottom, William Allan as Oberon, Joanna Craig as Titania.

Opened April 28. Ateneum Theatre, Warsaw, Poland. Directed by Aleksander Bardini, designed by W. Siciński, translated by K. J. Galczyński.

Opened spring 1959. Oldenburgisches Staatstheater, Oldenburg, Germany. Directed by Ernst Dietz, designed by Mr. Dietz and Heinz Meerheim. Raimund Bucher as Oberon, Traute Föls as Titania, Christian Dolny as Puck. Translation by A. W. von Schlegel. Selections from Purcell's opera *The Fairy Queen* were used for stage changes and the ballets.

May 1-9. Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.

May 5-9. Wake Forest College Theatre, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Directed and designed by James H. Walton. Dinah Gattis as Puck, Steadman Kitchen as Bottom, Jeanette Cook as Oberon.

May 2-26. Virginia Museum Theatre, Richmond, Virginia.

May 25-30. Oldham Repertory Theatre Club, Coliseum Theatre, Oldham, England. Directed by Harry Lomax, designed by Trevor Treuman. Robert Keegan as Bottom, Carl Paulsen as Oberon, Nona Williams as Titania.

June 1-August 1. Howard Payne College Theatre, Brownwood, Texas, tour of Britain, to schools and theatres in London, Coventry, Welwyn Garden City, Dundee (Scotland), Middlesbrough, Northampton, Cambridge, and Bristol. Directed by Alex Reeve. Norman Talley as Bottom, David George as Oberon, Jessica Paris as Titania. A Texas cowboy and Indian version of the play. The actors wore ten-gallon hats, leather-fringed jackets, and high-heeled cowboy boots. In the meeting between Quince, Snug, Bottom, Flute, and Snout, they sat around a fire, like cowboys on the range. Puck played a guitar, and the songs were sung to American cowboy tunes.

Summer. The American Shakespeare Festival Theatre, Stratford, Connecticut. The 1958 production revived. Directed by Jack Landau, setting by David Hays, costumes by Thea Neu. Nancy Wickwire as Titania, Hiram Sherman as Bottom. Played to school audiences prior to the Festival's June opening.

July 2, thereafter in repertory. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Peter Hall. Charles Laughton as Bottom, Mary Ure as Titania, Robert Hardy as Oberon.

June 25-26. Oxford Playhouse Company (Meadow Players Limited), Cambridge Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England. Directed by Frank Hauser, settings by Michael Richardson, costumes by Jane Greenwood and Anthony Powell. George Selway as Bottom, Ruth Meyers as Titania, Harold Lang as Oberon.

July 1-30 in repertory. Northwestern Drama Festival, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Directed by James Gousseff, settings by Herman Zimmerman, costumes by Paul Reinhardt. Albert Martin as Puck, Donald Bohmann as Bottom, Laird Williamson as Oberon.

Opened July 13. The Bankside Players, Open-Air Theatre, Regent's Park, London, England. Directed by Robert Atkins, who also played Bottom. Sydney Bromley as Puck, Mary Duddy as Titania.

July 17-August 2, in repertory. Festival d'Art Dramatique d'Avignon, Théâtre National Popu-

laire, Court of Honor of the Palace of Popes. Directed by Jean Vilar, translated by Jules and Jean-Louis Supervielle. Maria Casares as Titania, Claude Nicot as Puck. Leon Gischia provided the costumes and Maurice Jarre the music.

July-August. Open-air presentation at Ostia Antica-Roman amphitheatre by the Centro Teatrale di Roma, Rome, Italy. A new translation and adaptation by Gerardo Guerrieri. Directed by Mario Ferrero, designed by Giulio Coltellacci. Rossella Falk as Titania, Franco Graziosi as Oberon, Vittorio Congia as Puck. The production also toured to other cities where it was presented in arena theatres.

August 1-15 in repertory. Colorado Shakespeare Festival, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. Directed by Howard M. Banks, costumes by Inge Schmidt. Shirley S. Cox as Titania, George Wall as Oberon, Ralph Symonds as Puck.

August 18-20. North York Little Theatre, Toronto, Canada, Casa Loma outdoor theatre. Directed by Peter Court, costumes by Goldie Pratt Woodall. Mr. Court as Bottom, Alwyn Lant as Titania, Robert Buck as Oberon.

Season 1958-59. J. C. Williamson's, Melbourne, Australia. Directed by John Alden, designed by Alistair Roberts. Mr. Alden as Bottom, Elaine Montgomery as Helena.

Season 1958-59. A. Wegierki Theatre, Białystok, Poland. Directed by I. Górka, designed by L. Kiliszewski, choreography by Z. Buczyńska. Music by Mendelssohn.

Season 1958-59. Dramatyczny Theatre, Szczecin, Poland. Directed by Zbigniew Kopalko, designed by Marian Stączak, translated by K. J. Gałczyński. Also played in Rostock, Germany.

Season 1958-59. New Plymouth Festival of the Pines, New Zealand. Directed by Alan de Nalmanche.

### *Much Ado About Nothing*

Opened December 1. Zimmertheater des Landkreises Aachen, Aachen, Germany. Directed by Kurt Sieder, sets by Willi Thomas, costumes by Renate Bäcker. Wolfgang Regentrop as Benedick, Hildegard Fein as Beatrice, Wolfgang Ziemssen as Claudio. Translation by W. H. Graf Baudissin.

Opened April 2, thereafter in repertory. Städtische Bühne, Ulm, Germany. Translation by Hans Rothe.

June 15-18. The Bats, Queens College Dramatic Society, Cambridge, England. Directed by Frank Bechhofer. Jill Daltry as Beatrice, Martin Caven as Benedick, Anthony Arlidge as Dogberry. Presented in the open air, in Cloister Court of Queens College with three sides of the court, built in 1468, as the only scenery; floodlit at night.

July 3-19. Tavistock Repertory Company, Tower Theatre, London, England. Directed by Kay Gardner, designed by Richard Hunt. Myfanwy May as Beatrice, Alec Brown as Benedick, John Stuart as Don Pedro. Four performances were given under the auspices of the American Actors Guild at the R.A.F. Station, West Ruislip, Middlesex. The original ballad, "The God of Love", by William Elderton, discovered recently at Yale University, was used in the production, possibly for the first time. Music for it was especially composed.

August 25-September 12. The Cambridge Drama Festival, Metropolitan Boston Arts Center, Boston, Massachusetts. Directed by and starring John Gielgud as Benedick, Margaret Leighton as Beatrice. Settings and costumes after designs by Mariano Andreu, music by Leslie Bridge-water. It opened on Broadway later in the month (September 17). George Rose played Dogberry. The production was hailed by the critics in Boston and New York for its wit and style, and Sir John for his expert portrayal of Benedick. It was essentially a revival of the production by Sir John at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in 1949.

Season 1958-59. Ziemi Mazowieckiej Theatre, Warsaw, Poland. Directed by W. Wróblewska, designed by Z. Wierchowicz.

### *Othello*

October. Stadttheater, St. Pölten, Austria. Directed by Reinhold Siebert, designed by Spurny.

November 7-8. Mermaid Players, Tottenham, London, England. Directed by Charles Calvert, designed by Angus Cooper. Mr. Calvert as Othello, Brian Manvell as Iago, Pamela Hunt as Desdemona.

December. Ziemi Rzeszowskiej Theatre, Rzeszów, Poland. Directed by S. Winter, designed by K. Gajewski; translation by Paszkowski.

December. University of Illinois Theatre, Urbana, Ill. Directed by Charles Shattuck.

January 14. The Little Theatre, Ilford, England. Directed by Graeme Wright.

February. British Empire Shakespeare Society, Playhouse, Derby, England. Eight performances, the 67th production of the Society since it began in 1908.

Opened April 7, thereafter in repertory. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Tony Richardson. Paul Robeson as Othello, Mary Ure as Desdemona.

April 30-May 2; May 6-9. University of Akron Theatre, Akron, Ohio. Directed by James F. Dunlap. Tom Sweitzer as Othello, Verealea Mihaly as Desdemona, John Collins as Iago.

June 29-September 19, in repertory. Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Stratford, Canada. Directed by Jean Gascon and George McCowan, designed by Robert Prevost; music by Louis Applebaum. Douglas Campbell as Othello, Douglas Rain as Iago, Frances Hyland as Desdemona. "Mr. Campbell portrays the Moor not merely as a dignified and remote general but as a man. If there is a flaw in Mr. Campbell's portrayal it is that though in character his Othello is a man who shouts and rants his rage, he reaches the far passions of jealousy and outrage long before the denouement, and seems to have no place beyond to take his emotions." —Judith Crist, *New York Herald Tribune*, July 1, 1959.

Opened October 19, for three weeks. Citizens Theatre, Glasgow, Scotland. Directed by Peter Duguid, designed by David Jones. Iain Cuthbertson as Othello, Kenneth Griffiths as Iago, Sian Phillips as Desdemona. An original modern setting and stylized production.

Season 1958-59. Die Städtischen Bühne, Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany. Directed by Heinrich Koch, designed by Franz Mertz. Hans Dieter Zeidler as Othello, Johanna Wichmann as Desdemona, Hannsgeorg Laubenthal as Iago.

### *Romeo and Juliet*

October. Théâtre Jókai du Departement Békés, Hungary.

November. Guildford Repertory Theatre, Guildford, England.

March 3-6. Panhandle Agricultural and Mechanical College, Goodwell, Oklahoma.

March 12-14. The Palmetto Players, Converse College, Spartanburg, South Carolina. Directed and designed by James W. Parker. Donna Sherman as Juliet, James W. Parker as Romeo, Sanford Newell as Friar Laurence. A cast of fifty, performing on a unit set.

March 19-22. Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York. Presented as a feature of the College Shakespeare Festival, which also included a symposium and an exhibit. Directed by Wilson Lehr, designed by Eldon Elder.

May 22-23, 28-30. Long Beach State College, Long Beach, California. Directed by David Sievers, designed by Milton Howarth, costumed by Inge Schmidt. Played on a unit setting incorporating Elizabethan features, Italian Gothic in architectural style.

Summer. Lyric Players, Belfast, Ireland. An open-air production, with Joan Carslake as Juliet, Scott Marshall as Romeo, Terence Nonweiler as Capulet.

Opened June 12, thereafter in repertory. American Shakespeare Festival Theatre, Stratford, Connecticut. Directed by Jack Landau, scenery by David Hays, costumes by Dorothy Jeakins, music by David Amram. Inga Swenson as Juliet, Richard Easton as Romeo, Aline MacMahon as the Nurse. Critics agreed that neither Miss Swenson nor Mr. Easton was ideally suited to his role and that the production lacked poetry and pace.

Opened July 17 for three successive weekends. Stan Hywet Shakespearean Festival, Akron, Ohio. Directed by James F. Dunlap. An open-air production on the terrace behind a Tudor-style mansion. The mansion building was used for the balcony scenes and the patio and its steps for indoor scenes. Special scenes were staged in the runway between the rows of spectators, where Juliet's funeral procession took place.

September. Bristol Old Vic, Bristol, England. Paul Massie as Romeo, Annette Crosbie as Juliet.

Season 1958-59. Dramatyczny Theatre, Czestochowa, Poland. Directed by B. Kilkowska, designed by A. Secewicz.

Season 1958-59. Stadttheater, Kärnten, Klagenfurt, Austria.

Season 1958-59. Auckland University College Drama Society, New Zealand. Directed by S. Musgrove.

*The Taming of the Shrew*

Opened October 1, thereafter in repertory. Landestheater, Salzburg, Austria.

November. Theatre Museum, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan. Directed by Choji Kato.

February 5-8, 9-11. Drama Workshop, Des Moines, Iowa. Directed by Walter Stille, designed by Virginia Pigott. Archie Leonard as Christopher Sly, Lois Stille as Katharine, Walt Reno as Petruchio. A contribution to the local Shakespeare Festival. The Drama Workshop is an experimental theatre group producing plays at the Unitarian Church of Des Moines. The production was arena style, with set pieces brought on and off by two costumed page boys. "It was preceded by a mingling of beggars, jugglers, etc., with the audience as it entered, out of which melee the play unobtrusively and gracefully and amusingly started."

Opened February 24. Bristol Old Vic Company, Theatre Royal, Bristol, England. Directed by Frank Dunlop.

April 2-11. Colonial Players, Annapolis, Maryland.

April 13-18. University of Texas, Austin, Texas. The thirteenth consecutive Shakespearian play directed at the University by B. Iden Payne. Costumes by Lucy Barton, settings by H. Neil Whiting. Roy Lyon as Petruchio, Carole R. Griffith and Marilyn Myers Pool as Katharine, Charles Bell as Christopher Sly. April 21-24 the company played at the Lyceum Theatre, Dallas, Texas, where the production was praised by critic John Rosenfield of the *Dallas Morning News*, who pointed out that "The balance by which Payne, who keeps these characters of the 'Introduction' alive when the First Folio 'Shrew' abandons them, is sheer wizardry. He neither loses them nor permits them to dam the current of 'The Shrew' proper."

May 7-9. Iowa State Players, Iowa State College Theatre, Ames, Iowa. Directed by M. B. Drexler. Jane Fee as Katharine, Paul L. Martin as Petruchio. The action was set in 1910.

May 15-16. Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.

Opened May 30. Wybrzeze Theatre, Gdańsk, Poland. Directed by T. Zukowska, designed by J. A. Krassowski. Translation of J. Paszkowski.

May 14-17, June 12-14. Cornell University Theatre, Ithaca, New York. Directed by Joseph Golden, designed by Junius N. Hamblin. Arthur Sherman as Petruchio, Penelope Wilson as Katharine, Donald Coburn as Lucentio. Acted in a modified *commedia dell'arte* style.

June 20, 23, 26. Festival of Angers, Maine et Loire, France. Renée Faure as Katharine, Bernard Noël as Petruchio. Presented in front of the illuminated Chateau de Baugé.

June 22-27. Presented in the courtyard of the George Hotel, Huntingdon, England. Directed by Mary Gill.

July-August. Friesacher Burgspiele, Austria. Directed by Hannes Sandler. An open-air performance.

September 13-October 3, thirteen performances. Stadttheater Luzern, Lucerne, Switzerland. Directed by Walter Oberer, settings by Hanns W. Herbert, costumes by Renate Linke, choreography by Jean Deroc. Ilse Kiewiet as Katharine, Wolfgang Schwarz as Petruchio, Beate C. Koepnick as Bianca.

Season 1958-1959. The People's Army Theatre, Budapest, Hungary. Eleven performances.

*The Tempest*

November 7. Norwich Players, Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. Directed by Ian Emmerson.

Opened February 8. Ziemi Lubuskiej Theatre, Zielona Góra, Poland. Directed by J. Żegalski, designed by Jan Kosiński, translation by Jastrzebiec-Kozłowski.

February 26-28, March 3-8. University of Minnesota Theatre, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Directed by Robert D. Moulton, settings by Wendell Josal. John Willcoxon as Prospero, Gordon Whiting as Caliban, Thomas Wendland as Ariel.

March 18-21. Yale University School of Drama, New Haven, Connecticut. Directed by Frank McMullan, designed by Gordon Micunis. John Brockton as Prospero, Linda Urmay as Ariel, Marian Hampton as Miranda.

March 19, thereafter in repertory for fifty performances through September. Popular Theatre

(Teatr Ludowy), Krakow, Poland. Directed by Krystyna Skuszancka, designed by Józef Szajna. Ryszard Kotas as Caliban, Witold Pyrkosz as Trinculo, Tadeusz Szaniecki as Stephano. "*The Tempest* has been shown as an attempt to reconstruct mankind by means of a moral shock. Prospero, the thinker, having at his disposal appliances of modern science (the ancient black magic), undertakes the attempt. All characters of the drama are put to trial in the attempt. But Prospero did not foresee Caliban's revolt. At this moment Prospero's tragedy begins. Though mankind has returned to the balance of morality and the whole world of life was open to the young people, Prospero's victory was apparent. Caliban's revolt proves the insignificance of Prospero's attempts. Prospero resigns his power consciously. Ariel, the symbol of free human thoughts, regains his freedom, and Prospero takes leave of mankind (the epilogue) leaving on the island a man—Caliban—to his own lonely and biological existence." Krystyna Skuszancka, director. The staging and setting applied techniques of modern paintings in metaphorical designing. A two-level elevation represented the island, surrounded by abstract forms placed on a kind of net-work. The forms when illuminated changed colors to indicate displacement of the action. A channel separated the stage from the auditorium; characters from the shipwreck came out of the channel as if from the sea. Electronic music accompanied Ariel's appearances; Ariel was costumed as a silver statuette with a metallic elliptical circle on his shoulder.

April. La Compagnie Dramatique l'Equipe, Salle Valhubert, Paris, France. Sets by Raoul Sabourdin, costumes by Andrée Peyres-Gay. Henri Demay as Prospero, Robert Leaumorte as the Duke of Milan, Jean Fontaine as Sebastian.

May 22-23, 27-30. University of Oregon Theatre, Eugene, Oregon. Directed by Preston Tuttle, designed by Jan Zach. Harry Smith as Prospero, Hilary Sims as Miranda, Edward Winter as Caliban. A structural unit setting was used throughout.

Opened June 9 for three weeks. The Old Vic Theatre, London, England, production of *The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island*, adapted from Shakespeare's play by John Dryden and William Davenant, with music by Henry Purcell. Directed by Douglas Seale, musical direction by John Lambert, scenery and costumes by Finlay James, choreography by Peter Wright. The company of sixty headed by John Phillips as Prospero, Joss Ackland as Caliban, Jeanette Sterke as Ariel (acting) and Mary Thomas as the singing Ariel. "Douglas Seale's production never allowed us quite to lose sight of the Shakespeare original. This, I think, was a tremendous virtue, for it meant that he had not given in to the temptations to rival Davenant's mechanical effects. . . . What we had was the maximum of spectacle with the minimum of fuss, and we were accordingly able to hear Purcell's music without the distraction of endless stage business."—Peter Roberts, *Plays and Players*, August 1959.

### Twelfth Night

October 16-18. DePauw University Theatre, Greencastle, Indiana. Directed by Harold T. Ross.

November 16, thereafter in repertory. Bałtycki J. Słowackiego Theatre, Koszalin, Poland. Directed by T. Aleksandrowicz, designed by T. Wierchowicz, translated by Stanisław Dygat.

December 9, thereafter in repertory. The Old Vic of London, England, North American six-month tour, Broadway Theatre, New York, N. Y. Directed by Michael Benthall, designed by Desmond Heeley, music by Gordon Jacob. Barbara Jefford as Viola, John Humphry as Orsino, Joss Ackland as Sir Toby Belch, Richard Wordsworth as Malvolio. The production was especially well-suited to the young cast, which lacked star names, but was strong on ensemble playing, style, and reading of the verse. A Cavalier period setting, "an elegant arch, decaying among roses."

February 3-March 1. City Theatre, Adana, Turkey. Directed by Vedi Cezayirli, designed by Orhan Cteinkaya. Merih Dincoy as Olivia, Vedi Cezayirli as Feste, Baykal Saran as Malvolio. The setting was modern and abstract.

Opened February 23. The Arts Theatre, Salisbury, England. Directed by Ronald Magill.

March 10-14. University of Connecticut Little Theatre, Storrs, Connecticut. Directed by Cecil E. Hinkel, designed by Frank W. Ballard. Susan Dorlen as Viola, Roger Cornish as Feste, and Raymond Marunas as Malvolio. The orchestra pit was covered to provide an apron stage extending into the auditorium, on either side a door functioning as an Elizabethan proscenium door. On either side of an arbor was a wall, with an arch, the arches localized as the entrances to the palace of the Duke and Olivia's home. Utilizing the plateau idea, the remainder of the

stage was localized by the actors as they moved in the several areas. No curtain was used so that the action was continuous.

March 11-16. Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. Directed by Arthur H. Dorlag, designed by Bill King. Cay Cranford as Viola, Oliver Dixon as Orsino, Faye Dunaway as Olivia.

April 4. Théâtre Ziemi, Opole, Poland. Directed by R. Bohdanowicz, designed by M. Wenzel. Translation by Stanisław Dygat.

April 17-26. University of Hawaii Theatre Group and the Honolulu Board of Public Parks and Recreation, Honolulu, Hawaii, Waikiki Shell Theatre. Directed by Joel Trapido, designed by Jock Purinton and Ben Norris. Harry Chang as Sir Toby, Edward Langhans as Sir Andrew Aguecheek, Jack Vaughn as Feste. The audience were seated on the stage of the Waikiki Shell, on three sides of the playing area which projected in a tongue-shaped platform into the audience. The single, richly colored background suggested an orchard but avoided literal representation. Musicians out of sight above and behind the playing area supplied music from approximately the Elizabethan position. Costumes were Gothic in style, "not notably successful, though vividly colored materials compensated in some degree for the grim lines." The performances were part of a Shakespeare Festival, with radio broadcasts, films and exhibits and discussions. More than a third of the total audience of 4800 were students from Honolulu high schools.

April 20, thereafter in repertory. Dramatyczny Theatre, Wrocław, Poland. Directed by L. Jabłonkówna, designed by A. Jędrzejewski; translation by Stanisław Dygat.

April 22. Castle Theatre, Farnham, England. Directed by Peter Jackson

April 24-25. Max Reinhardt Seminar of Music and the Performing Arts, Schönbrunner Schloss-theater, Vienna, Austria. Directed by Josef Gielen, designed by Imre Vincze, performed by students of the Max Reinhardt Seminars. Music by Bernhard Paumgartner.

May 5. Northampton Repertory Theatre, Northampton, England. Directed by Lionel Hamilton.

May 26. The Playhouse, Oxford, England. Later appeared at the Lisbon Trade Fair, Copenhagen, and Zurich. Harold Lang as Sir Toby, John Warner as Feste.

June. Cookley Players, Cookley, England. Directed by Ronald Griffin, who also played Orsino. Sheila Griffiths as Viola, Ronald Pratt as Malvolio. "The tempo of the whole play was well maintained, and the verse speaking, no less than the clowning, was superb."

Opened June 16. The Bankside Players, Open-Air Theatre, Regent's Park, London, England. Directed by Robert Atkins, who also played Sir Toby. Zinnia Charlton as Viola, Anthony Sharp as Malvolio.

June 13-25. Festival des Théâtres du Nord, at the City University of Toruń, Poland. By Théâtre-Bałtycki Słowacki. One of twelve plays.

June 22-27. The Oxford Playhouse Company (Meadow Players Limited), Cambridge Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England. (See above.) Directed by Frank Hauser.

July 9-26. The Cambridge Drama Festival, Inc., Metropolitan Boston Arts Center, Boston, Massachusetts. Directed by Herbert Berghof, designed by Lester Polakov. "A music and dance extravaganza." Siobhan McKenna as Viola, Alvin Epstein as Feste, Zachary Scott as Orsino. "In striving to make it popular, Herbert Berghof, the director, has, unfortunately, made it prosy. . . . Mr. Berghof has also strained too hard to keep it gay. A troop of zanies . . . swoop in and out of it, singing, dancing and improvising. There is something too much of this. . . . There is sentiment and even tenderness in the performance of Miss McKenna." —Elliot Norton, drama critic of *The Boston Daily Record*, reporting in *The New York Times*, July 11, 1959.

July 23-25. Fresno Community Theatre, Fresno, California. Directed by Carolyn Lauche, set by Jack A. Soghomonian, costumes by Robin Legere Henderson, who also played Viola. Gaylaid Bissell as Malvolio, George L. Wood as Sir Toby. Presented as the highlight of an Elizabethan Fair at the Fresno District Fairgrounds Amphitheatre.

July 28-September 5. Oregon Shakespearean Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Directed by Angus L. Bowmer.

October. Cameri Theatre, Tel-Aviv, Israel. Directed by Shmuel Bunim, designed by Arie Navon; music by Gary Bartini. Translated by Raphael Eliaz. Orna Porat as Viola, Zalman Lebiush as Malvolio, Joseph Yadin as Sir Toby.



Season 1958-59. Kärnten, Stadttheater, Klagenfurt, Austria.

Season 1958-59. Landestheater, Salzburg, Austria.

### *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*

July 25 opening. Klasyczny Theatre, Poland. Directed by T. Cygler, designed by J. Szeski, translated by Ulrych and Paszkowski.

August 6, thereafter in repertory. Nordmark-Landestheater, Stadttheater Schleswig, Schleswig, Germany. Directed by Horst Gnekow, designed by Philipp Blessing. Berno von Cramm as Valentine, Rolf Sudbrack as Proteus, Marina Orschel as Sylvia. Translation by Hans Rothe.

Season 1958-59. Landesbühne Mitte, Niedersachsen, Germany. Directed by Johann Killert, designed by Wolfgang Schmitz, translation by Hans Rothe. Rolf Mölders as Valentine, Horst Kraus as Proteus, Maria Bräunlich as Sylvia.

### *The Two Noble Kinsmen*

July 13-18. Reading University Drama Society, University Open Air Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England.

### *The Winter's Tale*

January. Maynardville Open Air Theatre, Capetown, South Africa. Directed by Leslie French. Philip Birkinshaw as Leontes, Cecilia Sonnenberg as Herminone, Rene Ahrenson as Paulina, Leslie French as Autolycus. "Production and playing were vigorous and straight-forward. . . . Most interesting was the attention focussed on Mamillius as a link between Hermione and Leontes even in their bitterest estrangement. . . . The emphasis was rightly on technical facilities so necessary to exploit the beauties and control the vagaries of open-air playing. Attendance over three weeks, 10,000, including 3,000 schoolchildren."—A. C. Partridge.

February 14. opening. Ziemi Pomorskiej Theatre, Bydgoszcz, Poland. Directed by H. Moryciński, designed by S. Bakowski.

June 13-25. Théâtre Ziemi Porskiej, Toruń, Poland, as part of the Festival of the theatres of North Poland.

October. Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel, Cuvilliétheater, Munich, Germany. Directed by Günther Lüders, designed by Jörg Zimmermann. Ernst Ginsberg as Leontes, Carl John as Polyxenes, Elfriede Kuzmany as Hermione.

Opened October 12. The Arts Council of Great Britain, Cambridge Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England. Directed by Toby Robertson, designed by John Bury. Toured Northwest England and Wales.

Season 1958-59. J. C. Williamson's, Melbourne, Australia. Directed by John Alden, designed by Alistair Roberts. Mr. Alden as Leontes, Elaine Montgomery as Hermione, John Laurie as Autolycus. A repertory Shakespeare season which later toured.

## Notes and Comments

### FRONTISPIECE AND ILLUSTRATIONS

The Frontispiece is a reproduction of the extremely rare engraving of Oxford by Augustine Ryther in 1588, after the drawings made by Ralph Aggas in 1578. It brings nearly to a close the series of reprints of early prints that show cities, palaces, and other buildings known to Shakespeare. In this number of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, pages that would otherwise be blank, such as 12, 38, 48, etc., are used to reproduce theatrical documents and records. Other theatrical items will follow in succeeding numbers.

Pictorial material in earlier volumes of *SQ* has been reproduced from originals in a number of American and British libraries, museums, and art galleries, including the Henry E. Huntington Library, the British Museum, and the National Portrait Gallery. Because of its accessibility to the Editorial Board, much of the illustrative material has been drawn from the collections of the Folger Shakespeare Library. This opportunity is now taken to invite readers to propose pictorial subjects for reproduction. These suggestions will be most helpful if they name the items desired and give their precise titles and present location. If photographic prints can be loaned for this purpose, so much the better.



### ANNUAL MEETING—CHANGE OF DATE

At a recent called meeting of the Board of Directors of the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., held on Thursday afternoon, 28 January, the By-Laws were amended to fix the date of the Annual Meeting of the Shakespeare Association of America on the first Wednesday of April in each year (formerly it was held on the first Wednesday in May). Formal notice of the meeting will be sent as usual to all members of the Association.



### NEW BUILDING FOR THE SHAKESPEARE BIRTHPLACE TRUST

The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust announces plans for a new building to house the amalgamated libraries of the Birthplace Memorial and the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre. The building, which will occupy the site in Henley Street flanking the northwest side of the garden of Shakespeare's birthplace, is to be ready for occupancy on 23 April 1964, the four hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's birth. It will have study rooms as well as administrative offices.

## A.S.F.T.A. SCHOOL PROGRAM AND FESTIVAL TOUR

The success of the first school program at the American Shakespeare Festival Theatre and Academy in Stratford, Connecticut, has encouraged the extension of the program in 1960. The season will be two weeks longer than last year, beginning Monday 25 April, and concluding on Saturday, 28 May. The offering will be *The Winter's Tale*, as produced by Jack Landau. There will be matinees at 1:30 p.m., Monday through Friday, and 2:30 on Saturday, and evening performances at 8:30 on Friday and Saturday evenings. Special arrangements are provided for high school and college students and for educational groups.

Plans are being worked out for a national tour of two of the Festival's 1960 productions, possibly in association with the Theatre Guild. Tentative bookings have been arranged in nearly a score of cities. Choice will be made from the three plays to be offered at Stratford this summer: *Twelfth Night*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and a third play not yet announced.

## Contributors

Professor LAWRENCE BABE, of the Michigan State University, is author of *The Elizabethan Malady*.

Dr. R. H. BOWERS is Curator of Rare Books in the University of Florida Library.

CARROLL C. CAMDEN, Professor of English at Rice Institute, is author of *The Elizabethan Woman*.

Dr. I. B. CAUTHEN, JR., is Associate Dean in the College of Arts and Sciences, the University of Virginia.

JOHN P. CUTTS, of the University of Alberta, has recently published *Seventeenth Century Songs and Lyrics*.

Professor FRANKLIN M. DICKEY, of the English Department of the University of New Mexico, and author of *Not Wisely But Too Well*, is a recent Guggenheim Fellow.

Dr. R. J. DORIUS, Assistant Professor of English at Yale, edited *Henry V* for the Yale Shakespeare and is completing a book on the History Plays.

Dr. ALICE GRIFFIN (Mrs. John) is a member of the English Department of Hunter College.

F. DAVID HOENIGER, of the Department of English of Victoria College, University of Toronto, is editing *Pericles* for the New Arden Shakespeare.

Dr. ROBERT ADGER LAW is Professor Emeritus of the University of Texas.

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